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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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13 August 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALEKSANDROV SPEECH AT WARSAW CEREMONY REPORTED

AU241635 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Jul 84 p 7

[BTA correspondent's report on speech delivered by Chudomir Aleksandrov. Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the celebrations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Poland's rebirth, at festive meeting in Warsaw on 22 July given by Polish leaders for the foreign delegations and the diplomatic corps.]

[Text] Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, delivered a greeting address on behalf of all party and government delegations from the fraternal Warsaw Pact member countries.

We are celebrating the 40th anniversary of that remarkable date in Poland's most recent history when the July manifesto was published and the rebirth of Poland as a democratic state was proclaimed, the speaker states. Poland proceeded along the path of socialist development in accordance with the Polish people's aspirations and this was a result of the people's struggle for national and social liberation.

Chudomir Aleksandrov recalled the extremely hard conditions under which People's Poland was reborn; he described the devastation, the losses suffered, and the victims of war. Under the leadership of the PZPR the working people not only restored the country from the ruins of war and overcame the backwardness in the country's socioeconomic development, but they also achieved remarkable successes in all sectors of life--in the economic, cultural, scientific and educational sectors--the speaker stressed. Socialism ensured Poland's peaceful, independent, and democratic development within its historical borders on the basis of friendship cooperation, and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community member-countries, the leader of the Bulgarian delegation further stated. Thanks to the consistent and peace-loving policy conducted by the Polish People's Republic this country achieved well-deserved prestige on the international scene and its role in Europe is steadily being enhanced.

Chudomir Aleksandrov pointed out as follows: throughout the 40 years of free life the Polish People's Republic covered a glorious path in building socialism. This path was not free of contradictions and difficulties. In the struggle for socialism, basing itself on the experience of the fraternal socialist countries,

Poland has drawn the necessary conclusions and is successfully resolving the emerging problems, Chudomir Aleksandrov emphasized in his statement. He expressed his conviction that the PZPR, in alliance with the United Peasant Party and with the Democratic Party, in alliance with all patriots, united in the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth, will overcome all difficulties and will even more confidently proceed along the path chosen 40 years ago.

Dwelling on the difficult international situation which has become even more tense thanks to the aggressive imperialist circles, Chudomir Aleksandrov pointed out that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are struggling to eliminate the use of force and the threat to use force in international relations, to achieve a halt of the arms race, and to strive for disarmament. We are convinced, Comrade Aleksandrov emphasized, that there is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence. We hope that the Stockholm conference will end with positive results.

Chudomir Aleksandrov closed his statement by wishing the fraternal Polish people that they may live and persist in their creative endeavors in an atmosphere of peace and that they may achieve new successes in consolidating and building socialism, happiness, and prosperity. He expressed all these wishes speaking on behalf of the peoples in the fraternal countries and on behalf of the delegations attending the reception.

CSO: 2200/155

BULGARIA

VIENTIANE CITES ZHIVKOV MESSAGE TO SOUPHANOUVONG

BK241419 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 1400 GMT 24 Jul 84

["Recent" greetings message from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to Souphanouvong, president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and chairman of Supreme People's Council]

[Text] On behalf of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and in my own name, I am pleased to extend cordial congratulations to you on the occasion of your 75th birthday.

Our people are aware of the heavy tasks you are performing in your capacity as one of the high-level leaders of the Lao people in the struggle for the national independence and social progress and in your capacity as a fighter for the fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community and for the defense of the policy of ensuring friendly, stable, and neighborly relations in Southeast Asia.

I am pleased to have noticed your personal contributions to strengthening and consolidating the friendly relations between our two parties and peoples in accordance with the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

On the occasion of the important birthday of beloved Comrade Souphanouvong, please accept my sincere wishes for your good health and long life and for new, greater success in carrying out the activities under your high responsibility for the well-being of the Lao people and for the cause of peace, democracy, and socialism.

CSO: 2200/155

CORRUPTION, VIOLATIONS OF LAWS, REGULATIONS EXPOSED

Officials With Criminal Records

Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian 6 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by Chavdar Shinov]

[Text] We live surrounded by serious, meaningful, one could say absolute documents! Documents which have been approved and regulated after discussions, experimentations, votes, etc.

We live surrounded by documents, but the stipulations they contain are one thing and what happens outside them another.

Let us consider this ponderous and solid text known as the Regulation on the Application of the New Economic Mechanism. According to this document, the hands of managements of enterprises and economic organizations have been untied so that they may launch initiatives and make their own decisions. Therefore, except for a few mandatory norms they can decide by themselves what to produce, where to sell their output and against whom to compete... The documents say that your hands have been untied, although according to one Petrov at the ministry no such thing exists... He picks up the telephone, sends telexes, orders what to produce... One may issue regulations, demand economic initiative or discuss sensible economic risks on the radio. Petrov, however, is of a different opinion....

Or else let us take the mandatory regulations on the type of menu that one restaurant or another may offer. The list is strict, long and appetizing and is signed by an even stricter and important department! What the document says and what exists in reality, however, are two different things....in the sense that all that is offered is meatball soup and grill!

Or again the stern text according to which individuals who have been tried for theft and account padding cannot hold positions requiring material accountability. The text is merciless but reality is even more so. Suffice it for a person to spend no more than half a day in looking through court files to realize that hundreds of citizens in the country who have been tried precisely for misappropriations and account padding work as store keepers, barmen, restaurant managers or custodians.

Clearly, the world of documents is one thing and the actual world is different in hundreds of ways.... And the question arises somehow quite naturally and legitimately: Could it be that many of our contemporaries look on such solid and strict text of importance to any society as to a work of literature? As something out of a novel, for instance, something which one opens in bed, for entertainment and aesthetic enjoyment, as literary experts tell us!

However, all such regulations, orders, norms instructions and ukases or, generally speaking, this entire literature which may be dry but is of exceptional importance in all organized activities, are not issued for purposes of aesthetic enjoyment and entertainment! The sooner we realize this the better!

Construction on Arable Land

Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian 6 Jul 84 pp 1,3

[Article by Nayden Iliev]

[Text] "Land for Fencing," which is the title of this article, has been borrowed without any particular pangs of conscience.. And why not, after all, when some 30,000 decares of such land are appropriated annually for the construction of industrial enterprises, although this is fertile land and although those plants could be built on rocky semi-mountainous land. On top of everything else, every year about 70,000 decares of land are illegally appropriated by the citizenry.

Such land is being stolen by people greedy for possession. It is being plundered right and left and, together with private gardening plots, put under entire illegally built settlements, ranging from slums to quite substantive buildings.

The most interesting feature here is that this land is being plundered with the silent agreement of its owners -- the agroindustrial complexes and forest farms. Furthermore, many APK [Agroindustrial Complexes] themselves are willing to have some of their land taken for building purposes or be declared abandoned land, so that they may not have to bother with its cultivation. Currently there is more than 1 million decares of neglected land, and once land has been declared "neglected" it is being generously wasted by city and rayon people's councils and municipalities which give it away on the basis of lists, letters, notes, telephone conversations, etc.

On the territory of the Sofia City People's Council alone, for example, in some 2.5 years the size of illegally acquired and plundered land has tripled to 9,637 decares, with more than 6,000 illegally built structures.

I would be revealing no secret or risk helping violators share experience by mentioning some of the tricks used in grabbing a piece of land. First is the building of houses or cottages near villages or Sofia districts on land included in their town-planning scheme, APK-owned, naturally. This method was used in building more than 1,800 houses unobstructedly, without any penalties being imposed on the violators. Second is illegal building on state land planned for industrial, garage, warehousing or other use. The land may have been planned, but the person who has decided to take over ignores this fact, builds a houses, moves his things in and no one can budge him out of there.

Or, more precisely, no one is willing to do so. This case involves close to 500 houses in Novi Iskur and Kazichane and the Republika and Fakulteta districts in Sofia.

The other most popular and most seemly way of land appropriation is the theft of areas allocated by virtue of various regulations for farm use, i.e., for self-sufficiency.

The rayon people's councils and the Sofia City People's Council have distributed more than 5,000 decares of land within the Sofia area to those wishing to grow vegetables. However, entire palaces have been built next to modest little furrows planted in tomatoes, peppers, strawberries, etc., and self-sufficiency has turned into cottage-sufficiency. Some municipalities, as in Lozen village, Sofia Okrug, have gone way out, generously allocating land regardless of legal acts and documents. Meanwhile, instead of stopping the Lozen municipality, the Deveti Septemvri Rayon People's Council, its superior authority, has itself distributed 2,618 lots without any legal grounds.

With the help of letters, notes and lists the Sofia Agroindustrial Union as well is wasting its land in the fodder and animal husbandry farms in Sukhodol, Simeonovo and other districts to the benefit of its personnel, friends, etc.

In general, readers, our native land is being generously wasted and ravaged. Over the past 20 years more than 2.2 million decares of land have been irretrievably lost to agriculture. Clearly, the time has come to stop this element and to introduce some kind of order. All that is being done currently is that an occasional penal decree is being issued against a violator by the same authorities which encouraged him in the first place, the people's councils, a decree which, naturally, no one executes, or an "unappealable" fine of 100 leva or so is levied, with which the matter ends. Symbolism!

It is true that 2-3 years ago some 200 illegally built small cottages on the territory of the Sofia City People's Council were torn down and the matter ended there. However, no one tore down cottages of people of some social standing and connections. Lack of equipment and possibilities were cited!

In my view, there is no need to tear down such buildings. But why give away lots on the basis of the "grab and hold" principle? Let the people pay for the lots at the luxury class rate, and since a cottage is considered a luxury, let luxury taxes be charged, triple and quintuple the normal amounts.

People want land, so give them land, but land which is truly neglected rather than deliberately abandoned and ravaged by the APK. Let the people improve such land and improve themselves, but order and justice must prevail, and there must be only one owner or the land instead of an irresponsible number.

Otherwise the plunder and waste of "this small land," as the poet reverently says, will go on. Land which we and future generations greatly need.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

INTERNATIONAL, INNER GERMAN PARLIAMENTARY RELATIONS NOTED

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 17 No 7, Jul 84 pp 3-4

[Article by Herbert Fechner, member of the committee for foreign affairs and chairman of the interparliamentary group of the People's Chamber: "Parliamentarians in International Dialogue"]

[Text] The interparliamentary activity of the People's Chamber holds a solid place in GDR foreign policy. The Interparliamentary Group of the GDR (IPG) was set up in 1955; 500 People's Chamber deputies belong to it. Since 1972 it has been a member of the international organization of parliamentarians, the Interparliamentary Union (IPU), founded in 1889.

For nearly 30 years the People's Chamber and its deputies have done extensive and active work, in relations to other parliaments as well as within the scope of IPU, which has greatly helped secure the recognized and respected place our socialist GDR holds in the international life of the peoples. Today, our highest representative body of the people maintains official contacts with almost 100 parliaments of other states in all regions of the world.

Contribution to a Coordinated Foreign Policy

Guided by the 10th SED Congress resolutions, the People's Chamber, since the start of its eighth election period in June 1981, has systematically extended and deepened its international contacts. Mutual visits by delegations increased, qualitative aspects growing stronger. Meetings have taken place with leading representatives of 46 different parliaments. So the People's Chamber took account of the higher international demands made also on our republic and made an important contribution to implementing the foreign policy coordination in the community of socialist states, mainly seeking to preserve peace, international detente and disarmament and foiling the aggressive imperialist arms buildup and confrontation policy.

At the seventh SED Central Committee session, Erich Honecker pointed out how important it was "to continue political dialogue with all forces that are assuming their responsibility for the destiny of their nations and of mankind and are ready for an understanding," and that we advocated "using all chances for negotiating the cessation of the arms race and the transition to disarmament, especially in the nuclear field." In that sense the deputies of the

highest representative body of the people in our socialist state are working constructively for peace and international understanding.

Our party and government executive has always paid great attention to the international activity of the People's Chamber. The president of the People's Chamber, Horst Sindermann, has done extensive and politically significant work in many meetings with leading foreign parliamentarians visiting the GDR and with chiefs of state and other top politicians abroad. The many foreign delegations headed by parliamentary presidents also were given receptions by Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Oskar Fischer, minister for foreign affairs, or other leading representatives of the GDR.

For implementing the interparliamentary tasks of the highest representative body of our country the foreign affairs commission of the People's Chamber plays an important role. Led by its chairman Hermann Axen, it has had a great share in implementing our socialist state's foreign policy goals.

In the last 3 years the GDR has been visited by delegations from 36 foreign parliaments. People's Chamber delegations traveled to 21 countries. In addition, many parliamentarians from all over the world were given receptions for talks in the People's Chamber. IPG delegations played an active and constructive role in this period at IPU conferences and meetings in Havana, Lagos, Budapest, Rome, Helsinki and Geneva and at the Bagdad meeting of the Arab Parliamentary Union, representing our coordinated socialist foreign policy. The opportunities for international activity by the People's Chamber were broadened by the personal ties many deputies maintain through their professional activity.

Appeal from Sofia to the Parliaments of the CSCE States

Also during its eighth election period, the priority in the People's Chamber's international activity has been the cooperation with the parliaments of the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community. Here we may recall that our first parliamentary guests were 16 deputies from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR who came to our republic in 1955.

The close relations and contacts with the highest representative bodies in the Warsaw Pact states, the MPR and Cuba were further deepened by exchange visits of delegations. Opinion and experience exchange with the chairmen and leading representatives of those parliaments on the questions of the development of our socialist social order and of our joint peace policy helped reinforce our friendship and fraternal alliance with them. The working methods of the people's representations and their deputies for further developing and shaping socialist democracy were given broad consideration in these talks.

True to our tradition it was a delegation from the land of Lenin to visit the GDR as the first foreign parliamentary delegation in July 1981, shortly after the People's Chamber of the eighth election period had been constituted. The cooperation between the People's Chamber and the Polish Sejm became especially intensive last year. Among other things, a politically significant meeting of young deputies of both states was held in July 1983 in Goerlitz and Zgorzelec that entailed a joint peace demonstration at which People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann and Sejm Marshal Stanislaw Gucwa spoke.

Interparliamentary work by means of visiting delegations also was carried on during this election period with the parliaments of Yugoslavia and North Korea.

Of importance to a continuing rapprochement among the socialist countries and their highest representative bodies are the consultative meetings of the parliamentary presidents of the Warsaw Pact states, to which the GDR is making an active contribution. The last meeting, in November 1983 in Sofia, in view of the frightening international situation, issued an appeal to the parliaments of the CSCE member states, calling on the parliamentarians to commit themselves to an end of the nuclear arms race, the continuation and deepening of the detente process, and the consolidation of security in Europe and the entire world. The attendants of the meeting referred to the constructive propositions in the Prague Political Declaration of 5 January 1983 and the Moscow Declaration of 28 June 1983.

The chairmen of the interparliamentary groups of the socialist countries are also working closely together. They regularly coordinate the joint foreign policy activities for IPU conferences. In March 1984, for instance, they deliberated in Hanoi on which proposals the parliamentarians of the socialist states should submit this year in the IPU and what a posture they should take there so that the IPU as much as possible fulfils its role as an important international body of parliamentarians from all over the world in the struggle for peace, detente and international cooperation.

Consolidating Anti-imperialist Solidarity

Much space was given in the last 3 years to the cooperation between the People's Chamber and the parliaments in Afro-Asian and Latin American states. Through exchanging delegations with 21 of these parliaments existing contacts were renewed and deepened or at least, with some of them, established. At this time, the People's Chamber has interparliamentary ties to most African, Asian and Latin American states, which have favorable effects on developing the GDR's overall relations in those countries and help further consolidate our active anti-imperialist solidarity. In talks with parliamentarians from states with a socialist bent like Angola, Mozambique and Congo, the focal point was our experience in socialist construction. In view of the increasing danger of war, caused by the most aggressive circles of imperialism, primarily in the United States, the exchange of views with parliamentarians and other leading representatives of developing countries, such as India, Syria, Algeria, Kuwait, Libya, Tanzania, the Philippines, Cyprus, Brazil, Mexico, Colombia and Peru, and the Palestinian National Council, was of importance to further consolidating the anti-imperialist front and the peace movement along with it.

Those countries' parliamentarians expressed in the talks that in the most important basic international issues they held views that were identical with or similar to those of the community of socialist states. That particularly applies to the need to bolster the peace struggle. The delegations from the developing countries, most of them headed by their parliamentary presidents, were highly interested in the GDR's political and economic development. Through what they saw and experienced themselves, they could familiarize themselves with the values, advantages and accomplishments of real socialism. They appreciated the great successes our republic has achieved since it was founded in the various sectors of public life.

Important Impulses for Bilateral Relations

People's Chamber contacts with parliaments in capitalist states, mainly in Europe, have also continued to develop in the current election period. An increasing exchange of delegations points to that. Political dialogue has been conducted with leading parliamentarians from the NATO states of Britain, Italy, France, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Iceland, Greece and the nonaligned European countries of Finland and Sweden as well as with parliamentarians from Japan. The focal point of the exchange of views was placed on the struggle for preserving peace, for international detente and security, arms limitation and disarmament, and the continuation and deepening of relations of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders.

People's Chamber deputies proceed from that any international meeting in our days has to be used to unmask the anti-peace policy of the reactionary circles of U.S. imperialism, reduce confrontation, continue constructive dialogue, and thus nurture peaceful coexistence. The current situation demands of the parliamentarians in all countries a resolute defense of peace and greater efforts to avert a nuclear inferno.

All these meetings have been of great political importance. They also lent important impulses to the further development of bilateral relations.

The talks demonstrated that in spite of differing social orders far-reaching common views exist to the effect that even complicated international problems can be resolved, with good will, in the peoples' interest. Most of those we spoke to made the point that greater efforts are still needed to ban the war danger. Stopping the arms race and limiting and reducing armaments were the most urgent problems today. It therefore was also necessary to carry on the CSCE process. Almost all parliamentarians from capitalist states emphasized the usefulness of political dialogue and advocated its intensification. The deputies from bourgeois parliaments were interested in informing themselves about life in real socialism during their GDR visits. In industrial enterprises, cooperatives and institutions and in talking with GDR citizens, they not so rarely expressed themselves impressed with our state's economic and social policy. Many guests assured us these experiences would compel them to revise their previous picture of the GDR.

GDR-FRG interparliamentary relations could not yet be normalized because of the unrealistic and revanchist stance of authoritative circles in the CDU/CSU leadership even though many leading Bundestag representatives have advocated it. In the last 2 years several Bundestag deputies visited the People's Chamber. In March this year an official SPD Bundestag faction for the first time visited the People's Chamber. The thorough exchange of views on important basic political questions was constructive and useful for improving the climate between the two German states. The People's Chamber has for a long time been announcing its readiness to normalize its relations with the FRG Bundestag and the West Berlin House of Deputies on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, in particular those of equality and nondiscrimination.

Initiative-rich Work in the IPU

The authority and respect of the IPG have further grown in the IPU, especially since the 67th Interparliamentary Conference, held in Berlin in 1980. The name GDR has a good sound in the IPU because the People's Chamber deputies are engaged with rich initiatives in also working for the implementation of its goals. They are especially committed to promoting the personal contacts among the parliamentarians so as to ensure the full participation of their states in the efforts toward world peace and international cooperation. In practice, the implementation of these goals is highly complicated because of the multifaceted and in part opposing political and ideological views in the parliamentary organization now composed of 102 national groups. The constructive approach to the basic issues of international relations that is characteristic of socialist foreign policy, especially with regard to the effort to preserve peace, has greatly contributed to having the IPU adopt stipulations, particularly in view of the imperialist arms buildup and confrontation policy, tending toward a detente and disarmament policy.

That was once again documented by the course and outcome of the IPU conference in Geneva in April 1984. The representatives of the socialist states, the GDR among them, had explained there, proceeding from the Prague Declaration and the Moscow Declaration, the proposals from the community of socialist states for a recovery of the international situation, which were listened to with growing interest by the parliamentarians from the developing countries and capitalist states. The discussions in Geneva showed a clear supremacy of realistic voices rejecting the Reagan administration's confrontation course. The resolution passed on disarmament questions underscored that averting a nuclear war was the most urgent task of our time, and the need to end the nuclear arms race was pointed out. The parliamentarians condemned nuclear war as a ghastly crime against the peoples and distanced themselves from all doctrines that are propagating the feasibility and limitability of nuclear war. They demanded concluding treaties on the renunciation of force and on outlawing chemical weapons and an arms race in space. The People's Chamber deputies contributed to the positive course of the Geneva conference through the stand they took in the general debate, the executive committee, the commissions and editorial commissions and their extensive contact work.

The international activity by the People's Chamber and its deputies is a mirror-image of the growth of the GDR and also of the tremendous development of the revolutionary world process. The 35th anniversary of the founding of our socialist state affords an occasion for many balance-sheets all portraying an impressive picture of the achievements of our country's working people under SED leadership. These achievements have been prerequisite to the high respect the GDR enjoys today all over the world. The international work of the People's chamber has had a share in it.

5885

CSO: 2300/571

SED POLITBURO CHANGES DETAILED, ASSESSED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 12/1984 15 Jun 84 pp 16-18

[Article: "SED Politburo and CC Secretariat Expanded"]

[Text] The resignation of Paul Verner, SED Politburo member and Central Committee [CC] secretary, from his party positions--submitted at his own initiative "for reasons of health"--triggered a series of changes in the Politburo and CC Secretariat as announced 24 May 84 at the eighth meeting of the SED Central Committee [CC]. Four new full members were appointed to the Politburo, including three previous candidates. The SED Politburo, consequently, now has 21 full members and 4 candidates. The latter differ from full members in not having a vote, even though they participate in the weekly meetings of this body. The SED CC Secretariat, headed by Secretary General Erich Honecker, received two new secretaries.

With the resignation of the 73-year-old Paul Verner the SED Secretariat lost its senior member who had represented the SED secretary general during the latter's absence. Verner had been Honecker's close companion for decades. After the war they jointly founded the Free German Youth (FDJ), the GDR youth organization; Honecker became its first chairman while Verner, at that time, assumed leadership of the youth department of what was then the SED's Executive Committee. Between 1959 and 1971 Verner was the first secretary of the SED district committee for East Berlin.

In 1971, when Honecker replaced Ulbricht as head of the party, Verner assumed Honecker's former post of CC secretary for security, but he was also responsible within the CC for administration, the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance [CEMA], youth and sport, as well as church-related matters (Since 1981 Verner, as SED representative, was also one of Honecker's deputies in the latter's role as chairman of the Council of State; whether this position has also been vacated has not been announced as yet).

In November of last year Verner already surrendered some of his duties as CC secretary to Egon Krenz when the latter was appointed to the Politburo and became CC secretary; at that time Krenz took over the area of security as well as

youth and sport. Krenz has been entrusted with very visible functions at political and social events ever since and is therefore regarded by the party as the secretary general's "crown prince."

New CC Secretaries

When Verner left the CC Secretariat for good, the following were named to be CC secretaries: Konrad Naumann and Herbert Haerber. Their specific areas of responsibility have not yet been announced.

New CC Secretary Naumann--in former years temporary second secretary of the FDJ central council--has been in charge of the East Berlin SED district committee (succeeding Paul Verner) as first secretary since 1971.

Herbert Haerber, the other new CC secretary, is regarded as the policy expert for Germany within the CC administration. At age 20 he already worked for the CC and by 1965 he was the head of the department for Western affairs in the CC. He subsequently switched to government service for several years: At first, from 1965 to 1971, he was deputy under secretary for all-German and West German affairs (his superior, the under secretary, at that time was Joachim Herrmann, his present colleague in the Politburo and current CC secretary for agitation and propaganda). In 1971, after the State Secretariat's dissolution, Haerber was named the first director of the newly founded Institute for International Policy and Economics (IPW) in East Berlin and subsequently received the title of professor. Haerber returned to the CC 2 years later and assumed direction of its department for Western affairs, responsible for all matters relating to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Haerber, a CC member since 1978, is now continuing his ascendancy in the SED hierarchy: He became not only CC secretary but simultaneously also a full member of the Politburo. In so doing he passed over the status of being a candidate for that body; while this is not obligatory, it is generally required before full membership in the Politburo can be realized.

The fact that candidate status can occasionally be very long is attested to by the party careers of two of the three candidates who, together with Haerber, have advanced into the SED's highest political executive organ:

Werner Jarowski and Guenther Kleiber have been Politburo candidates since 1963 and 1967 respectively. Both were appointed to this position during Ulbricht's time at, for that body, relatively young ages--Jarowski was 35 and Kleiber 36. Shortly thereafter, Jarowski, a graduate economist, was appointed CC secretary for trade and services, a position which he still occupies today. Thus he had to wait 21 years before being granted full membership. Kleiber, a specialist in electronics, had been one of the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers since 1971; he had to wait 17 years, from 1967 to 1984, before becoming a full member of the Politburo.

Horst Schabowski, the fourth new full member of the Politburo, had been editor-in-chief of the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND since 1978. Contrary to Jarowski and Kleiber, his advance from candidate to full membership in the SED's highest

body was relatively fast. The professional journalist did not become CC secretary and, simultaneously, Politburo candidate until 1981.

Slight Decrease in Average Age of Politburo

The resignation from the SED leadership group of the 73-year-old Paul Verner and the acceptance of four new members into the Politburo lowered the average age of that body only slightly, reducing it from 64 to 62 (as of 1 Jun 84). One reason for this is the fact that the newly appointed members are already 52 to 57 years old and another that several Politburo members have held leading party and state positions for 30 years and more.

Today the most important positions in party and state are held by men who are over 70 or in their late 60's. Honecker, chief of party and state, is 71 as is the party's ideologist and CC Secretary Kurt Hager. CC Secretary Hermann Axen, in charge of foreign policy, is 68, the same age as President of the People's Chamber Horst Sindermann; Erich Mueckenberger, SED leader in the People's Chamber, is 73.

Politburo members occupying key positions in GDR's Council of Ministers are also of a ripe old age: Chairman Willi Stoph is 69; Alfred Neumann, his first deputy, is 74 and the men charged with GDR's national security--Minister of Defense Heinz Hoffmann and State Security Minister Erich Mielke--are 73 and 76 respectively.

All other Politburo members are between 47 and 60. Herbert Krolikowski--like Neumann first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers--is the oldest; economic expert Guenter Mittag is 57 and Egon Krenz, possible successor to Honecker, is 47.

Number of Candidates Has Declined

Since three candidates to the Politburo have advanced to full membership and no new candidates have been named so far, the number of candidates has decreased from seven to four. Two of the four are women:

--Margarete Mueller, 53, was 32 when she headed an agricultural production cooperative and became a candidate; she is primarily concerned with agricultural matters;

--Inge Lange, 56, has been a Politburo candidate since 1973 and since then has also been CC secretary for women's affairs, simultaneously heading the CC department for women's affairs which she has done since the 60's.

Since the Politburo was established in 1953, no woman has been a full member of this body; until now there have only been a few candidates.

The following have also remained candidates:

--Gerhard Schuerer, 73, candidate since 1973, has been head of GDR's State Planning Commission since 1963 and a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers since 1967;

--Werner Walde, 58, Politburo candidate since 1976, has been first secretary of the Cottbus SED district committee since 1969.

12628

CSO: 2300/564

CHURCH STATEMENTS ON POLITICS, CONFIDENCE, ENVIRONMENT

Synodal Political Commentary

Schwerin MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG in German 1 Jul 84 p 1

[Article signed "Th.": "Not Dissolution, but Still on the Back Burner"]

[Text] The hopes of many who know how much a synod costs were not realized. There will be a new, a fourth general synod of the United Evangelical-Lutheran Church in the GDR. The third general synod, which held its last session in Eisenach on June 14-17, did not decide the self-dissolution of the United Evangelical-Lutheran Church in the GDR. Therefore its organs, i.e., synod, church leadership and church office in Berlin, will continue to exist.

The United Evangelical-Lutheran Church in the GDR [VELK] consists of the three state churches of Saxony, Thuringia and Mecklenburg which are not part of the Evangelical Church of the Union [EKU]. In Eisenach, the synod was faced with the question what to do in view of the fact that, in addition to the Federation of Churches, the EKU will continue to exist because the road taken since 1979 toward creation of a single Evangelical Church in the GDR was cut off by the "No" from Berlin-Brandenburg. The Lutheran general synod was from the beginning in favor of the idea, and had proved it by reducing its activity in favor of joint activity in the Federation of Churches. That it was not willing even now to organize itself more tightly is shown by the fact that it did not elect Thuringian Bishop Dr. Werner Leich, who was the only candidate for the office of managing bishop. Thus Werner Leich, as deputy of the non-existent managing bishop, will continue to conduct business.

Moreover, the synod repeated what had already been stated by the conference of Evangelical church leaders: not only do the reasons for joining the three existing church unions into one binding, federative community exist as before, but they have become more urgent. The synod intends to do everything possible at present in order to strengthen the community in the Federation of Evangelical Churches. In their opinion, there are not theological reasons to preclude considering the 8 Evangelical churches in the GDR united in the Federation of Churches as one [single] church. For this reason, the synod declared itself in favor of finishing up work on the basic articles. In these basic articles, the Evangelical churches in the GDR formulate their joint conception of themselves. Although they do not have the character of a profession in the meaning of classical professions, such as the Augsburg Profession, if adopted by all 8 churches, they will form a basis for a joint profession and joint service.

The general synod thoroughly discussed also the report by the acting managing bishop. In a statement on this report, for which Dr. Werner Leich was personally responsible and which reflected his personal opinion as he expressly stated, the synod said: "With regard to the responsibility of politicians, the synod stresses particularly this statement: 'In all talks between statesmen and politicians of the two Germanys, there is the opportunity of transmitting understanding and insight into the situation of the other, and thereby to codetermine the interpretation of information gathered by the super powers. This is a task whose significance can hardly be overestimated.'" Bishop Leich had spoken in his report of the special mission of both German states with regard to the border situation. His report says verbatim: "It is good to know that the repeated declaration by the chairman of our State Council, that there must never be another war started from German soil, determines the foreign policy of our country. The statement of the necessity of limiting the damage has decidedly helped to prevent a possible cooling of the relationship between the two German states, due to the catchup armament decision of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the ensuing catch-up armament of the Warsaw Pact."

Werner Leich then dealt in his report with the question of the link between foreign and domestic policy. The synod declaration states: "The synod adopts as its own statements on the link between foreign and domestic policy: 'For its capacity to act, every state needs a certain amount of confidence which the citizens invest in their state. This confidence depends on how a citizen experiences his state in his personal everyday life.' Trust grows through respect for the dignity of human beings and can be gauged, among other things, by the amount of information the individual receives. The less information is withheld--even of an arduous content--, the more confidence can grow."

Environmental Concerns Emphasized

Schwerin MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG in German 1 Jul 84 p 2

[Article signed "br": "Encouraging Discussion--Environmental Church Service in the Brown Coal Open Pit Mining Region"]

[Text] About 1,000 people gathered on June 17 in the community of Moelbis, in the Leipzig brown coal open pit mining region, for an environmental church service with Saxon state Bishop Dr. Johannes Hempel. The 800-year old Moelbis, with almost 500 inhabitants, and situated "down wind" from the Espenhain brown coal processing plant, is especially hard hit by environmental problems. For this reason, like last year, the church parish of the town, together with the Borna church district and the Christian environmental seminar of Roetha, had issued an invitation to a church service.

Whoever came to the town, situated about 20 km south of Leipzig, will have noticed that, in addition to information on the situation of those concerned, there was much to encourage discussion, and not only within one's own group.

Thus Saxon state Bishop Dr. Johannes Hempel spoke up in Moelbis for a trusting dialogue between state authorities and the church parishes and

Christian ecological circles hardest hit by environmental problems. He stated verbatim: "I consider it a great step, not into paradise, but into a less stressful situation, if both sides venture this trust." Hempel emphasized it was not a matter of complaining; it takes courage to talk about the problems arising from environmental stress which can only be mitigated in the long term. In this context the Saxon state bishop pointed out that the GDR government is increasingly focusing on environmental problems, and that the responsible state authorities increasingly pronounce "what can, and cannot, be done."

Hempel also called for dialogue when he backed a simpler lifestyle. Such a road to a simple lifestyle is a "sign of our inner freedom" for what we can accomplish, he said. On the meaning of this church service, in which the collection was destined for the hungry in Africa, Hempel stressed that such a church service demonstrates understanding of the seriousness of the situation, and the endeavor to think honestly about it.

The church service, which was under the motto "In Moelbis the future has already begun" and was attended by young and old, took place under open skies in the yard in front of the church. A program before and after the service gave visitors, who had come predominantly from the concerned communities of the region, a chance for information and discussion. After the church and social circles in which information on environmental problems was given and ways for a solution were jointly sought. The question of responsible treatment of information was addressed, and also the importance of discussion with representatives of society. It was stressed that it was not enough to wait for the other side to do something.

Ever since a participant at the Dresden church conference last year had reported on the situation in Moelbis, a circle has formed which arranges vacation stays for children from the Moelbis district in less polluted areas. A reason for talk, even beyond the borders of a state church.

9917

CSO: 2300/561

GROUND FORCES CHIEF PRAISES ROLE OF CHRISTIANS IN ARMY

East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 12 May 84 p 7

[Article by Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, deputy minister for national defense and head of the ground forces: "The Peace-Keeping Mission of the NVA in Alliance With the Armies of the Warsaw Pact"]

[Text] On 14 May 29 years ago a treaty regarding friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance was signed in the capital of People's Poland (Warsaw Pact). From that time on the socialist defense coalition has proven itself in the service of peace. It consistently opposes aggressive NATO plans with its peace policy, which was once again expressed in its 8 May 1984 peace appeal to NATO. Aware of its responsibility it is perfecting its ability to defend against imperialist adventures against socialism.

By doing this it secures favorable conditions for realizing the socialist peace strategy and contributes considerably to the fact that we are living in the longest peace period of the century in our region of the world.

The GDR has been a full member of the Warsaw Pact from the first day of its existence. Together with the glorious Soviet Army and other socialist fraternal armies the NVA reliably fulfills its class mission. In an area of Europe where NATO policy represents an especially serious threat to the security of socialism and peace it makes a contribution to the maintenance of the approximate military balance, and thus to stabilization of peace.

As soldiers of a socialist army we see our most important mission that we through exemplary mission fulfillment continue to contribute to the successful and peaceful realization of the policy of the 10th SED Congress, aimed to the benefit of the people. The convincing show of trust of the people in the 6 May elections for the GDR peace policy gives us strength in our actions.

The position and role of the NVA within the socialist defense coalition imposes high requirements on its combat strength and readiness. To meet these requirements means that every member of the army considers military service to be his personal contribution to the preservation of peace.

Every day out training process shows that the realization "the stronger socialism, the securer peace" has taken roots in the thoughts of all members of the army.

Love for the socialist fatherland, knowledge of the need to defend socialism, a firm trust in the leadership of our state produce important and decisive motivation for a high state of performance readiness. This also includes knowledge of the causes and instigators of the currently very serious threat to peace, the knowledge that those who without scruples gamble with the existence of the entire human civilization must not achieve military superiority.

Based on this conscious attitude toward military service the army members acquire in the course of their training the necessary knowledge and skills to know and apply securely modern weaponry and combat equipment. This requires complete personal effort. Complicated equipment as well as greater tasks and increased responsibilities of individual army members and small collectives within a fixed period of training call in addition to extensive measures for more intense combat training for unprecedented creative cooperation and massive initiative of army members.

Within our political education and in military training we can build on strong foundations. Our socialist society does much to educate the growing generation in the spirit of peace and determined struggle around him, to prepare those called up for their service of honor. Parents and teachers, plants and institutions, the socialist youth organization and the GST, the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front--they all have an important part in the fact that for more than two and a half decades members of the NVA have conscientiously fulfilled their class task with their hearts and minds, with knowledge and skill.

Many Christians Among the Best Soldiers

We are pleased that young Christians exercise their constitutional rights and duties with honorable discharge of their term of service. Many of them are among the best soldiers of their units. They have realized well that they will best achieve their humanistic cause by doing everything possible in the ranks of vigorous fighters for peace to prevent a nuclear inferno. The joint responsibility of the states and armies of the Warsaw Pact toward strengthening of peace demands clear and unhesitating internationalist conviction from all army members. This is the basis for the firm comradeship in arms that unites the armies of the Warsaw Pact in common will and action. Especially strong and cordial are our relations to the Soviet Army that has the greatest experiences. The GRD military delegation, headed by member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, Minister for National Defense, Army General Heinz Hoffmann, and with myself as a member, that visited the USSR late in March experienced touching hours of fraternal unity, but also saw the political moral determination, high state of readiness, and the excellent knowledge and skill of the Soviet soldier. This close friendship and comradeship is reflected

in many ways in our daily work; in joint combat training and military achievement comparisons, in the exchange of experiences and joint exercises, in mutual visits on important political occasions in sport and cultural meets. The foundations of cooperation between the NVA and the Soviet Army are strengthened, members of the two armies get to know and respect each other better. All headquarters and units of NVA ground forces maintain close comradely relations to neighboring units of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, to the "regiment next door." We also have close and varied relations to the other socialist fraternal armies, especially again to our immediate neighbors, the Polish Army and the CSSR People's Army.

Maneuvers that took place late in March on GDR territory, in which units of the NVA, the Soviet Army, and the Polish Army participated, once again graphically demonstrated the defense of freedom is in strong and safe hands.

The history of our country is inseparably tied to the development of its armed forces and their firm embodiment in the Warsaw Pact.

As the people of the GDR prepare with many new initiatives for the 35th anniversary of the founding of their state, they can be firmly convinced that the NVA is reliably defending freedom alongside the socialist fraternal armies.

Just as the military alliance of the socialist armies has foiled all previous imperialist actions against our republic, it will in the future continue to be an effective barrier against the imperialist confrontation course.

9240

CSO: 2300/554

NEW COASTAL PATROL VESSELS INTRODUCED INTO NAVY

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 9, 1984 (signed to press 27 Feb 84) p 8

[Article by Comdr Helmut Koenig: "KSS of the New Generation"]

/Text/ According to the military encyclopedia coastal patrol vessels are ships designed to protect larger combat ships, transport vessels and landing craft against attacks by hostile submarines, torpedo speed boats and aircraft while sailing in the open sea or anchored offshore. For this reason they are also included under the term security vessel. Coastal patrol vessels are also designed for picket duty in coastal waters and in the approaches to friendly naval bases and harbors. This class of ships includes vessels of fairly great size variations. Their displacement ranges from 600 to 4,000 BRT and their speed ranges up to 35 knots (35 sea miles/hour equates to 65 km/h).

In 1956 the young naval forces of our country took delivery of the first two Soviet-produced coastal patrol vessels. In 1959 the nucleus of the attack force consisted of the coastal patrol vessels "Karl Marx," "Friedrich Engels," "Karl Liebknecht," and "Ernst Thaelmann." These universal combat ships, 90 meters long and 10 meters wide, had 1,100 tons water displacement and achieved a speed on 28 knots. They were armed with three 100 mm cannon (two amidship, one astern) as well as two 37 mm weapons in double turrets to provide air cover. There were also two 533 mm torpedo tubes, four depth charge launchers, as well as mines. The vessels could be used for naval patrolling, convoy duty, action against surface vessels and coastal targets, search and destruction of submarines, minelaying, and picket duty.

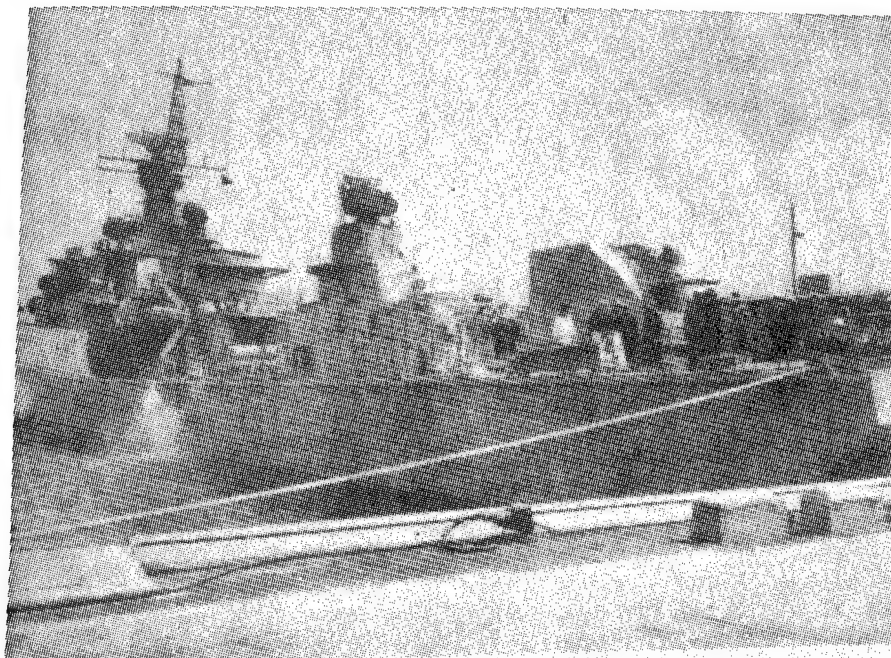
By now the coastal patrol vessels of Type 50 have been replaced by advanced Soviet vessels. On 25 July 1978 the Minister for National Defense put the coastal patrol vessel "Rostock" into service, and on 10 May of the following year the naval ensign of the Volksmarine was solemnly hoisted on the coastal patrol vessel "Berlin--Capital of GDR" in the presence of deputy minister and the chief of the Volksmarine. The crew of this ship has especially great responsibilities in the 35th anniversary year of the GDR. Being competition initiators in the Volksmarine the sailor, petty officers, midshipmen and officers must serve as examples in the political and military training, and must master the modern military equipment in all sectors of combat. For the sailor of the machine sector this means, for example, the mastery of the high-performance diesel engines and the gas turbine device which allows for high

acceleration of speed in a short period. This is necessary, for example, in action against submarines, one of the main tasks of the naval vessel. These coastal patrol vessels are deployable in all sea areas even during difficult weather condition. In heavy seas a stabilizer device is to be put in action to increase stability.

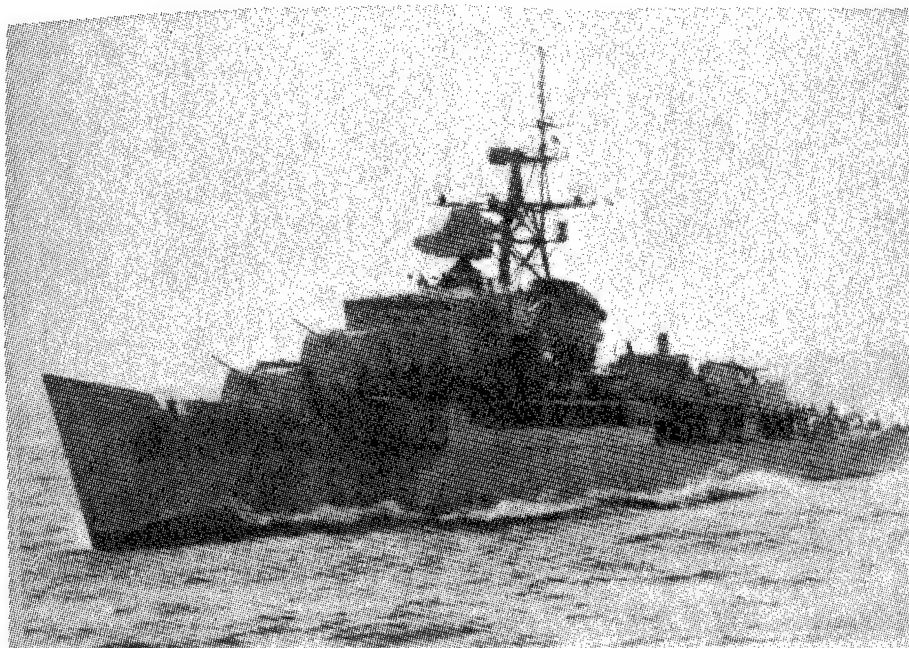
Compared to earlier coastal patrol vessels the "Berlin--Capital of the GDR" and the "Rostock" have much larger firepower. Their armament consists of fully automated artillery of small and medium caliber, emplaced in four double sets, as well as of long-range, large-caliber jet-powered depth charge launchers, of air defense rockets, conventional depth charges, and devices for mining operations. Modern electrical navigation devices, navigation and radar sets, radar devices for weapon guidance, devices for submarine search and many other devices require a high level of competence from the specialists and allow them to fulfill reliably their mission of guarding our coast.



Coastal Patrol Vessel "Berlin--Capital of the GDR"



Stern with part of the armament



KSS of the first generation

9240
CSO: 2300/497

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

USE OF SIMULATORS IN GUNNERY TRAINING DETAILED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 15, 1984 (signed to press 9 Apr 84) p 8

/Science and Technology feature by Lt Col B. Krauzig: "The IFV Training Complex; An Effective and Economical Training Aid"/

/Text/ APC (armored personnel carrier) and IFV (infantry fighting vehicle) with their weapons and the accompanying aiming devices, as well as their signal devices and protective equipment are demanding technical major machines. It is not easy to learn how to operate them perfectly in the limited time available.

In addition to the time factor there is the fact that the machinery needed for training requires fuel, lubricants and technical gases, naturally also expendable and repair parts, as well as facilities for repair. The necessity to use on the one hand every training minute, to train more effectively and intensively, and on the other hand to pay attention to the economics made the application of modern training devices necessary. This includes training devices and simulators in the land forces, such as had been previously common only in the air forces. Experience indicates that in many phases of training the actual machinery need not be used at all, it is impractical and not effective. For example, a trainer is not able to observe the actions of every crew member exactly, to correct and to evaluate, given the limited field of vision and cramped condition of an armored combat vehicle.

These and other reasons have led to the acquisition of training aids for the crews of the APC and IFC.

An important part has been played by many innovators from the NVA's ground force troop units, organizations, and installations. For example, a collective of the NCO academy "Max Matern" created the training complex for the IFV that is briefly described below.

Gunnery Practice on Training Site 9

The complex has been designed in such a fashion that three training vehicles have been saved. In spite of this, the intensity of training has increased. This represents considerable economic gain and simplifies the training process in many areas.

What does the gunnery training device look like? A training turret of the BMP IFV was given a covering that had the form and equipment of the gunner and the crew chief battle station in an IFV. Three such devices were joined into a complex that can be directed and controlled by one trainer. The vehicle models were emplaced on the existing tank swings in the indoor range.

The following improvements to the trainer result: With the aid of a control panel he can observe all the activities of the three gunners in the turrets. Actions required by the appropriate commands are indicated on the control panel and may be observed by the trainer through an optical device. Although there are two fewer trainers than previously required the controls are simplified. A voice channel allows for separate intervention for every vehicle. Safety violations (loading the weapon before the command, veering from the sector of fire, etc.) are immediately indicated, and shooting can be limited in both elevation and laterally. The "short stop" shift has a time limit as stipulated by norms, it can be called both by the trainer and the aiming gunner.

The crew chief's seat is arranged so that he too can observe the activities of the gunner and make corrections over the intercom. A display panel of all the activities required by each command assists the commander. This complex is designed for gunnery practice on training site 9. All exercises of initial tasks and for meeting fire orders can be carried out. At the same time the trainer can observe the activities. The possibilities of this device that cannot fully be expressed here represent a further step forward in the process of training gunners. All the data that previously had to be obtained by an additional military personnel are transmitted to the trainer's position. Time, equipment, and trainers are saved for other important tasks.

In conclusion attention is drawn to Lieutenant General Klaus Winter's remarks regarding the possibilities of simulators and training aids that were printed in the same place of the VA about two years ago: Regarding what troop detachments and units must do or observe in order to gain the benefits of such training devices he wrote (cf VA 17/83, p 8):

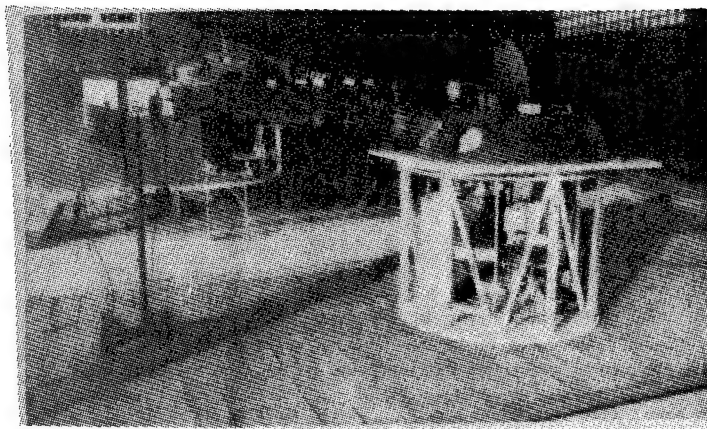
1. In contrast to combat equipment the efficiency of a simulator increases the more it is used for the designated training task.
2. To carry out training with training aids and simulators at any time these must of course be constantly useable. Operability of a simulator is just as important as that of combat equipment.
3. The simulator is not a "training robot." It only helps the trainer to function more effectively and intensively. However, it will not make training automatically effective. It is necessary that it be used effectively, with sufficient motivation for the soldier.



For gunnery training BMP training vehicles had to be driven to a building with tank swings.

In the future three such fire trainers are joined in a complex that requires only one trainer.





The basis of the gunnery trainer is such a standardized training turret in front of which an aiming control device is placed on swing as a training aid.

9240

CSO: 2300/498

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

PRAISE FOR UNARMED SOLDIERS--In a departure from the usual practice, construction troops who perform military service without weapons have now been mentioned in the GDR press. In reports of the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and other newspapers concerning a visit by Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann at the construction site of the future railway-ferry port Mukran on Ruegen, it was stated, "the special interest of the Minister" was the achievement of the engineer troops deployed there and of the construction troops, "who were providing socialist assistance to the workers from state-owned enterprises." According to a regulation of the National Defense Council of Fall 1964, in the GDR those conscripts, who out of "religious or similar reasons" refuse duty with weapons can perform unarmed duty in construction units of the army. This regulation was also kept intact with the new Military Service Law of Spring 1982. In GDR media this possibility has hitherto not been mentioned with only few exceptions.
[Text] [Stuttgart SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 13 Jul 84 p 6]

CSO: 2300/599

NEMETH DISCUSSES YOUTH AT SOFIA CC CONFERENCE

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 6, 1984 pp 3-11

[Article by Karoly Nemeth, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; "A Few Aspects of Our Youth Policy." Based on speech prepared for the Sofia Conference of Central Committee Secretaries from the Fraternal parties of the socialist countries, speech given on 29 May]

[Excerpts] Socialism is a society of labor. Its relationship to labor also provides an authentic picture of our youth. Youth's participation in labor is of fundamental significance in every respect. Almost 40 percent of the people employed in our country are under the age of 30. They account for every second skilled worker. The education and vocational training of young people have improved and the ratio of young people performing unskilled labor has decreased. Young people are in the majority in sectors of the people's economy requiring greater vocational knowledge. Youth assumes a considerable share in solving the tasks of intensive management improving efficiency and quality, accelerating technological progress, and intensifying economization.

Several unfavorable phenomena also can be found in the favorable overall picture. An incorrect outlook and attitude can be experienced among young people as well. We encounter lack of discipline, negligence, irresponsibility, a lack of aspirations, selfishness, and other undesirable phenomena. There are young people who come into conflict with their environment, turn against our moral norms, and land outside the sphere of influence of our institutions. Some of them are inclined to lead a dissolute and vagrant way of life, becoming alcoholics, and this is frequently accomplished by a criminal way of life. They mostly come from among young people who are threatened because of a bad family environment. Their number is not great, but this does not mean that it is not necessary to care for them. Our society is responsible for them as well. We cannot abandon a single young person.

We must not forget, either, that the unfavorable changes in the international situation and the contradictions accompanying our social development are also exercising an effect on our youth. As a result of these, there is increased uncertainty among certain groups of youth with regard to the prospects of socialist development and the development of their future lives. Under

circumstances of a slowed-down economic development, it has become more difficult to satisfy even justified requirements. Because of this, impatience is more common.

In the past decade, the overall position of youth has improved as has the overall position of society. Commensurate with its status of development, our society suitably ensures the conditions for an education, work, culture and a well-balanced life. It is also true that family income, family background and difference in culture and one's way of life still greatly differentiate the possibilities of young people in choosing a career and continuing their studies and their chances for creating prerequisites for an independent life even today. Significant measures have been introduced in recent years to assist young in starting careers and establishing families. Thus conditions for raising children have improved. The number of places in kindergartens has rapidly increased; almost 90 percent of kindergarten-age children today attend kindergarten.

In spite of the results, it is a tangible social problem that, in addition to the size of incomes, a family standard of living depends far too much on the number of children. Thus far, our position has not made it possible for our society to make a greater contribution in alleviating the burdens of raising children. One of our serious problems is that compared with the relatively carefree life enjoyed at the parental home, the period of beginning an independent life is extremely difficult for many young people. For young people wanting to start a family the most acute, recurring problem continues to be finding a dwelling of their own. The problems are intensified by the fact that the dynamic economic growth of previous years has slowed down, and this gives rise to tensions. We see them, we are aware of the problems, yet we cannot resolve them all at the same time, therefore, we must set priorities. Our most important task is to improve conditions for raising children, make it easier for young married couples to obtain housing, and ensure prerequisites for a quality education. We are working toward this goal, striving in the spirit of our socialist objectives for young people to obtain an equal opportunity in education, in choosing a career, and in finding employment corresponding to their qualifications.

Work is of decisive significance not only from the viewpoint of enhancing the social integration of our youth, but also in ensuring the success of the individuals. It continues to be in the fundamental interest of our society, and within it of our youth, to provide suitable work opportunities for the generations leaving school, preferably in areas corresponding to their qualifications or in related fields. This has become particularly important in light of the higher qualification standards and skills of our upcoming generations and in the utilization of the latest achievements of modern technology. This is of decisive significance from the viewpoint of the present, but, even more so, from the viewpoint of the future. An important virtue of youth is that it is receptive to new ideas. It is important for young people beginning their careers and society alike that there should be a chance for them to prove themselves at work and that they be allowed to make real use of their abilities and the knowledge they have acquired and that, in the case of a high-standard performance, there should be given a chance to advance professionally or to become managers.

Discusses Youth

Beginning an active career and adapting to their first job is a considerable problem for young people. Frequently they are not sufficiently helped in this by their older fellow workers, professional leaders, and sociopolitical organizations. Sometimes their adjustment is made even more difficult by distrust and, occasionally by jealousy. Our economic and political interests demand that we improve on this situation.

Under our socialist conditions gradually we can and we will solve the problems of our youth, and we are, indeed, solving them, together with them, with their help. The most important prerequisite for this is peace as well as a firm socialist people's power. Hence, our youth must also accept responsibilities.

Our premise is that our youth is an integral part of our society: that social conditions determine its state and development. Therefore, we do not examine youth in general, but specifically, in relation to social development and social processes. We take into consideration the fact that, for the youth, the past, the struggle for power, the initial successes and setbacks of socialism, and the subsequent political consolidation are only history today. Young people do not and cannot have their own experiences of all this. We do, however, regard it as important that they get a clear idea from their elders about the progress we have made so far. It is our duty to make them comprehend that the results have not been achieved for nothing, that it was necessary to struggle for everything and to square the score with our mistakes as well.

It is natural that young people devote themselves primarily to affairs of the present and the future. They want more and better things. This is a fine virtue of youth still today and it can be a forward-driving and society-shaping force if there is a will to act to attain our socialist goals. Our young people are sincere and they present their ideas critically and without fear, which is one of the results of our development. Not only are they allowed, they are also expected to do so in our society.

Not only domestic conditions, but also the international situation affect our youth. There is increasing concern among them as well about the tensions existing in the world, but they are also becoming more active in their struggle for peace and for averting the outlook of a world war. We must help them to find their direction and to realize that the U.S. imperialism, which has embarked on the path of an arms race and is striving to obtain superiority of military strength over the socialist community, is the main cause of the tensions.

We live and work in an era when, as a result of the machinations has become more tense and the ideological struggle is intensifying. There has been an increase in the anti-socialist propaganda activities aimed persistently at exaggerating our actual problems and within our society as a whole influencing our youth in particular, pitting it against our socialist ideals and our system.

We are also well aware of the fact that, because of their inexperience, young people are more vulnerable, less protected from bourgeois propaganda and from ideas alien to socialism. This calls for a more active ideological activity. Our party attaches great importance to ensuring that our youth learns about and masters Marxism-Leninism and that it lives in the spirit of the teachings of our world view. It should confront attempts aimed at dividing the socialist countries, fuelling nationalistic sentiments at all form of anti-Soviet and anticommunist manifestation. We cannot disregard the fact that some young people are susceptible to bourgeois propaganda and some are uncritical of harm manifestations of the Western way of life. It is one of our important tasks to stand up against such influences, expose the intentions of the enemy, and spread our ideas.

We can say without exaggeration that one of our cardinal issues under our present conditions is how we can help our youth become exposed to and identify itself with socialism and its ideological foundation, Marxism-Leninism, and how we can turn the rising generation into a creative participant in our constructive work. This does not happen automatically. It is true that new generations are born into the socialist society, but socialist conditions do not automatically guarantee a socialist awareness.

The growing generation is also differentiated by occupation and age. This must be borne in mind in our political work. What we need, first of all, is openness, sincerity and patience, all of which are particularly highly appreciated by our youth. Let us encourage even more qualified communists--people who like young people and understand them--to be politically active among young people.

The basic purpose of our youth policy is to win the growing generations over to our ideals and goals, and to involve them in the construction of socialist society. It should have an influence on all those political, social, economic and ideological processes that determine the social situation thinking and behavior of our youth. Our goal is to increasingly allow the responsible participation of youth in solving our problems, in carrying out the tasks aimed at promoting the development of our society, in shaping our policies and in our leadership. It is important for our youth to be more willing to take initiative, to act independently and assume responsibilities. This is in the interest of the youth and of the entire society.

The most important source and driving force of our development is man. When we speak about shaping the human factor, the instruction and education of the growing generation play an important role. The power of the word cannot be underestimated in this, but we know that participation in social practice, in work, represents the greatest force of education. And this starts already in childhood. We have found that children who have no clear functions or responsibilities in the family, in school, in the communities of the youth movement, have been poorly brought up. Our aim is to ensure that young people are given opportunities for action in accordance with their capabilities. We must do our utmost to increase the circle of young people who are not only interested in public issues but who also act with responsibility, and are active participants in public life and in solving the problems facing society.

An important part in our party's practical activity is played by the implementation of the youth policy and its control. It is the task of the central and district party organizations and party authorities to follow closely the situation of the working and learning youth: what is hindering or perhaps even blocking their adjustment at work, their assumption of social tasks, their further studies, their professional training and their moral and political development; it is their task to carefully analyse the causes and motives, to assess the real needs and possibilities.

It is essential that the communists take upon themselves also individually greater responsibility for the education of youth in the family, at work and in residential areas. They should consider it a personal matter to make sure that those who are worthy become members of the party. Several generations of communists are living and working together in the party. At the same time we still do not consider as adequate the ratios of certain strata and age groups of the youth within our party. The groups which we have found lagging behind in our party construction efforts have included certain strata of manual workers, our university and college students and young people under the age of 25. The number of people accepted to join the party from this age group and strata has decreased in recent years. Of the youth accepted into the party the number of labor youth had dropped somewhat. The basic reason for this is the weakness of political educational work conducted among our youth. The party organizations do not pay enough attention to educating the youth to become party members, either. This is connected with certain internal weaknesses, the formalistic nature of the party's internal life, the deficiencies of our party democracy, and as a result of all this, the internal life of the party organizations is not attractive enough for our youth. Therefore, the politburo passed a special resolution outlining all those tasks which when implemented will ensure the acceptance in the party of an adequate proportion of composition of youth who are worthy. If the best of a generation or youth strata do not reach party membership, it will be to the detriment of socialism, the party and youth itself.

CSO: 2500/487

PRIVATE ACTIVITY OF TEACHERS IN IGKM SUPPORTED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Imola Medve: "IGKM"]

[Text] There is no uniform conception about economic work associations in the public mind, but this spring was accompanied by new waves: the subject has been introduced to schools. Opinions voiced in the columns of our education policy weekly, KOZNEVLES, are divided. Not only about whether they are for or against the establishment of school economic work associations, but what the tasks are that can give such a work association the right to exist. And this is the point that should really be considered.

What obstacles come in the way of the establishment of IGKMs which teach languages, provide physical education or prepare for entrance examinations, some argue, when educators have been involved in such activities since "antiquity", maybe under a different label, a different tax structure or without taxes. Why are mathematics, physics or history teachers excluded from the list of entrepreneurs, as long as their services are demanded, in ever growing numbers either under tutoring or the guidance provided for talent? This way, at least, they can use their learned profession and they do not have to rely on income earned by cleaning schools or raising pig. (As we know, nowadays, it is not to satisfy the need for luxury that more and more teachers work a second shift, which does not require their training as educators.)

But the source of income of the IGKMs would be the pocketbooks of the parents.

This is probably not pleasing to everyone when they read it or hear it for the first time. But why are we more sensitive as parents than as tenants, car owners, home builders, movers or any other citizens taking advantage of GMK services, when in these cases as well help is provided because of our pocketbooks and not our beautiful eyes.

True, but the schooling of our children through age sixteen is obligatory, and education is a state monopoly. That is why the opinion of those educators' must also be taken into account who find the establishment of GMKs offering the more successful acquisition of school subjects (to children whose parents are willing to pay for it or can afford it) incompatible with the morality

of socialist education. While education is declared to be free. And the education department is striving to improve the conditions of education for the creation of equal opportunity--in the interest of the individual and society--as long as the economic situation of the country makes it possible. I.e., there are limitations. And this is the gap to be filled by school GMKs.

Briefly: the teacher GMK should not deal with the problems of the schools but those of the parents. This, of course, also means that it relieves the society of educators from tasks which were not handled by schools anyway before women (mothers) joined the workforce in mass. What do I have in mind? Whose responsibility is it to raise healthy and sound children, who should get them in the habit of spending their time in an educational manner, who should take them on a summer vacation, who is to train them to have civilized table manners, who should instill a sense of duty in them and a sense of respect? Society -- little by little -- shifted all these responsibilities to the schools, i.e., educators, not mentioning that teachers are still not trained to tackle these tasks.

Thus the main duty of school GMKs -- with popular educators, librarians and "ordinary" parents among their members -- is to handle these unconventional school tasks, then not only extra curricular activities would become more colorful, varied and consequently more effective but school work, too. Because more perceptive, interested and disciplined children would sit in the classrooms. Thus pupils would see more behavior models and, under the guidance of several adults with various experiences, their career choices would become more realistic.

The quality of education would be improved if gradeschool teachers could be relieved from the burden of keeping the children occupied and tutoring instead on one hand, and of million administrative chores on the other, and thus their work hours could be spent doing what they were contracted to do: teaching and preparing for classes. And if they take on extra work, let them do so voluntarily, for extra pay and if desired in GMKs.

I have no exaggerated hopes that society will be willing to make this happen at once: by making a financial sacrifice for children it is not helping the schools but itself. But this is the prerequisite for the future of IGKMs, and the number one goal is not to give teachers access to a regular and legal source of extra income. But if they volunteer to offer a portion of their mental capacity, expertise and free time to a GMK for the sake of earning extra income, the proportion of those leaving and reentering the profession could change favorably; thus the shortage of educators could be reduced.

I am far from suggesting that school GMKs will solve the anomaly of teacher payscales -- this is the state's responsibility -- but I am sure that in addition to a possible improvement in objective working conditions and a possible pay hike for teachers, a radical weeding out of some of the work responsibilities is the primary task to remove the permanent "situation" of teachers from the agenda. One way to accomplish this is to shift some of the responsibilities from the schools to the GMKs in a regulated manner.

Certainly not all parents will take advantage of school CMKs, especially since they will cost money. Neither did all parents send their children to private instructors or language courses in the past. And it is not always a matter of our pocketbooks whether we want to create better career opportunities for our children than those which the state is capable of offering at a reduced cost.

9901

CSO: 2500/464

PROBLEMS WITH LEGAL INTERESTS OF WORKERS DISCUSSED

Budapest MUNKA in Hungarian Jun 84 pp 4-5

[Article by Janos Vas: "Dilemmas With Decisions Regarding Representation of Interests"]

[Text] In recent months there has been an extraordinary number of debates over how, in what manner, and for how long shops should be open. What is the real consumer demand, what may be the optimal solution? No one disputes that one--but only one--of the factors in the level of the goods supply is the period of opening hours.

It is no less important that there should always be a suitable choice of products, especially of foodstuffs. Therefore, one should be able to get fresh milk, bread, and baked goods. Of course, shopping conditions are not a matter of indifference, either. The Union of Trade, Financial, and Restaurant Workers (KPVDSZ) is systematically and thoroughly examining and evaluating the development of the situation. Because hectic shopping periods, a crush around the cashier, an undesirable change in morale are burdensome for trade and customers alike.

From Monday to Saturday

It is in the determination of opening hours that the KPVDSZ experiences the greatest contradiction in the double function of the trade union, for it must take into consideration the demands of shoppers and represent the interests of commercial workers and employees. On the basis of wide inquiries--which we pursued with managers of commercial enterprises, responsible council leaders, and trade union office-holders--the observations may be summed up by saying that in the countryside there is no problem with opening hours and with the shopping conditions connected with these.

The situation is different in Budapest, although from Tuesday to Friday one cannot speak of a serious problem here, either. The difficult days regarding opening hours are Monday and Saturday.

It is not possible to disregard the hard fact that in the capital the number of commercial employees is decreasing from year to year. There is a labor shortage on the order of approximately 5000!

It is not possible to leave out of consideration the increase in the intensity of work in trade, which is connected with the growth in business, and on the other hand with the fact that more than 50 percent of prices belong to the free-price category. In consequence of this the changing of free prices and also of officially-determined prices from month to month entails enormous additional work (the re-pricing of goods) for trade workers. Because of shortages and extra tasks more and more things to be done fall on each worker, which is not reflected in their remuneration.

Eleven-twelve hours per day, and a workday even longer than this, are common in small shops. The workday of shop managers and their assistants is the longest, because they are the last to leave at closing time. In addition to this they fill in for absentees, mainly cashiers, while the material responsibility for the entire shop rests upon them. Often they cannot even take the weekly day off! Tiredness, apathy, indolence, and negligence can often be attributed to this constant, intensive overburdening, as well as to the lack of material regard for trade work.

Responsibility for Supply and Its Contradictions

Commercial enterprises and the workers themselves are fully aware of their responsibility in connection with supply. In opposition to the interests of their enterprise, sometimes even to their personal interests, they strive to perform their tasks in a way consistent with good general shopping conditions. Yet the responsibility for supply dictates that there always be--even at Saturday evening closing time--adequate bread, baked goods, milk, and milk products. At the same time, the production and delivery of fresh goods has not been worked out. A huge quantity remains in the shops unsold, causing a yearly loss of several millions to food-trade enterprises. In Budapest alone the loss at the KOZERT (Municipal Food Trade Company) enterprises from bread, baked goods, and milk products is 14 million forints apiece. Obviously, it cannot be in the interest of society to waste manufactured goods in such a way.

The conflict of interest also manifests itself in the fact that every extension of opening hours, every overtime hour and piece of overtime work, is accompanied by the kind of payment of wages that is a burden on the established wage level. An increase of 3.8-4 percent in commercial enterprise wage levels may be expected in 1984. If we subtract payments on account of overtime work, then there remains barely 2 percent, which may be distributed to base wages and bonuses. But careful managers have also saved out of this. For this reason it is no great wonder that servicing the social interest--in the case of opening hours--is in opposition to the individual material interests of the workers.

Other conflicts, too, cause difficulties. It is said that industrial enterprises do not manufacture certain articles because they are not economical. (Moreover, we also hear that they do not manufacture some articles when there is little use for them, either.) That is to say, enterprise interests and the impact of the market predominate here. At

the same time neither economists, nor experts, nor public opinion recognize that commercial enterprises work under the same kind of concern for income as others. The extension of opening hours is in conflict with enterprise interests, because it can be demonstrated that business falls sharply in food stores after 2 PM on Saturday. This circumstance increases overhead costs and reduces the possibility of profit. Business does not increase, trade commissions do not rise, in proportion to extended opening hours.

On the Basis of Voluntary Undertaking

Weighing the problems, the presidium of the KPVDSZ recommended that the ordinance on opening hours not be modified, but that in Budapest opening hours on Mondays--with the agreement of the Municipal Council--be adjusted in such a way that in one district certain businesses should be open from morning until afternoon, others from afternoon until a later closing time. On Saturdays department stores will remain open until 3 PM instead of 1 PM, food stores until 5 and 6 PM. During this time shopping can be attended to--if the selection, quality and freshness of the stock makes this possible.

The issue of Sunday opening hours is a very critical one. Heretofore, as well, three markets have been open on Sundays, where meats, vegetables, and other foodstuffs could be purchased. Sunday provisioning is served by 170 catering trade units--where bread, baked goods, and milk may also be bought in the morning--as well as by 60 confectioners, 90 retailers, 80 tobacconists, and 34 transport catering service units, in addition to the catering restaurants of railroad stations.

The presidium of the KPVDSZ intensively and fully examined the question of Sunday opening hours and decided, by 12 to 9, that only in the capital three large ABC food stores are to be open from 7 AM to 1 PM. The hours of operation may not exceed eight hours per day. It is the standpoint of the federation that Budapest, as the capital, be handled as an exception.

Representation of interests also predominates in the fact that these businesses are not open on the order of the authorities, but on the basis of a voluntary undertaking. This refers to the enterprises and to every individual worker undertaking Sunday work. On Sundays regular employees receive a 500 forint lump sum, managers 700 forints. Since the Sunday opening hours will, according to preliminary calculations, operate at a loss, the responsible state organs guarantee that the enterprise will receive this lump sum as a wage preference.

It is part of the protection of trade union interests that the ABC stores under discussion not shift the losses of Sunday opening hours onto the whole network of businesses. That is to say, the rest of the workers should not suffer a loss on account of the uneconomical nature of Sunday opening hours. In this connection, obviously, the government will shoulder the material burdens of achieving general satisfaction, notwithstanding

that all this is opposed to the effort of economic policy to have enterprises--including commercial enterprises, as well--undertake business and compete on the basis of their own interests.

A Way Should Be Found for a Wage Adjustment

The KPVDSZ considers normal conditions for opening hours and for shopping important and that cultured behavior, solicitous concern for the customer, should be characteristic, despite all the objective and subjective factors working counter to this. From the viewpoint of the protection of interests we will check compliance with the daily work period several times and we will intervene against excessive overtime and against the kind of work schedules that exceed a 12-hour day. We cannot accept the further expansion of opening hours, nor a divided workday, either, which would signify a disguised extension of the workday for women working in trade. Because when someone starts at 6 o'clock in the morning, then in vain do we break the workday from 12 to 3 PM, because he still cannot get home. With the afternoon shift only the time spent at work increases, and there remains the danger of separation from children and family.

Presently we cannot adhere to the 42-hour workweek in most places. Nor can we give up working for the achievement of the kind of situation that will make possible the introduction of a 40-hour workweek in the coming year. For if we want to stem the further turnover of labor, to reinforce attachment to the work-place, then there is a need for this, too, but even more, for us to obtain higher wages and incomes. The qualifications and professional competence of trade workers justifies our not remaining in last place in the branch order, and finally--in the face of the many promises, after 17 years--a way should be found for a wage adjustment for trade workers.

9871

CSO: 2500/454

HISTORY OF CATHOLIC YOUTH COUNCIL DESCRIBED AT JUNE 1984 MEETING

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 1 Jul 84 p 6

[Article: "KALOT [National Association of Young Catholic Men's Groups] and its People's Academies: Lecture at the Saint Stephen Society"]

[Text] The Saint Stephen Society held its officer elections on 12 June in the building of the Central Seminary in Budapest. Primate Laszlo Cardinal Lekai, principal patron of the society, led the delegation of a large group of bishops. President Andor Guthy opened the session.

Ferenc Magyar, managing editor of UJ EMBER said in his introduction, "At various forums, authors and lecturers of various professions and points of view have repeatedly discussed the activities of KALOT in the recent past. In this regard, 17 March 1983 can be regarded as a milestone, when the Patriotic People's Front organized the first national meeting of the one time People's Academies. At that time, Imre Pozsgai, first secretary of the Patriotic People's Front, spoke with great appreciation about the People's Academies, and he mentioned with respect those public and religious leaders who were the initiators and creators of the movement. Catholic, Reformed, and Evangelical church representatives, sympathetic toward the people and looking far into the future, demonstrated in their youth organizations and People's Academies that they desired to join their fate with the people and not with the enemies of the people. They helped form outstanding moral qualities in the youth. "The Patriotic People's Front includes the People's Academy movement among its own predecessors," said Imre Pozsgai.

Ferenc Magyar emphasized that, in spite of indispensable objective and critical evaluation, it is already certain that the work of KALOT and its People's Academies can be recognized by the Catholic church in Hungary without shame. The witnesses who are still alive must sketch the history of this significant movement in a comprehensive work for future generations.

Gyorgy Farkas gave a lecture with the title "KALOT and its People's Academies." He described how the movement was begun in Szeged in 1935 by Jeno Kerkai, a Jesuit father. Jozsef Ugrin and the lecturer himself joined the organizational work at the time. In the first phase, they studied the situation of the peasants. The economic and social backwardness of masses of peasants caused by the unjust distribution of land was striking. They had no opportunities for advanced

study or education, and they lacked appropriate cultural institutions. The leaders of the movement saw that raising the cultural and living standards of the peasantry had to begin at this point. They formulated their program in the following way: A more Christ-like person, a more educated village, a vigorous people, a self-respecting Hungarian. The universal goals made it necessary for them to separate themselves from the political parties, to reject factionalism, and to disregard social and economic stratifications within the peasantry.

They started leadership training courses, to which they invited talented, dynamic village youth, who on returning home became the "seeds" of the movement. In the winter of 1936-37 already 417 participated in the courses. In the winter of 1937-38, 150 leadership-training courses were held at various points throughout the country. In 1939 they already had 150,000 members. One year earlier, in 1938, on the occasion of the World Eucharistic Congress in Budapest, they held the first KALOT convention. The second one took place in November of 1940, at the Vigado in Budapest. There were 2,000 youth associations represented at this time. The final network had by then been constructed, with almost 300,000 regular members. The secretaries of the dioceses assisted in the work of the national leadership. The work extended to the reannexed territories, especially the youth of Upper Hungary and Transylvania joined the activities of KALOT in strength.

The first people's academy opened in the fall of 1940 at Erd, which was regarded as the citadel of the movement. At different points throughout the country a total of 20 people's academies belonged to KALOT. They were specialized according to need. (Intensive farming, gardening, folk art, dance, wood carving, etc.) Training professional leaders for the people was always regarded as a labor of love. Between 1935 and 1945 a total of 35,000 youth took part in various courses organized by KALOT. The press division and the entertainment center received a large role in coordinating the work. The entertainment center provided material for more than 3,000 programs during the winter of 1940-41, for example. Cooperatives of various kinds were established. More than 200 of them set up independent economic activities, providing a living for a large number of people. They created a committee to represent and protect the interests of members, which took mostly successful action in the solution of the economic problems of those who requested help (2100 cases in 1941-43). The movement pressed for land reform, settlements and cooperative agriculture. Jozsef Petery, bishop of Vac, offered 10,000 holds [14,200 acres] of land for this purpose. Cooperatives that rented land were formed.

These strivings and goals were not looked upon favorably by everyone in the church at the time. Words of appreciation written by Pope Pius XII in 1939 and a statement by prince-primate Seredi strengthened KALOT's position and encouraged its work. Negotiations took place in 1941 on the relationship between KALOT and the Levente movement, and the agreement finally succeeded in guaranteeing KALOT's independence. A significant problem was caused by membership in KALOT of youths of German descent, against which the German embassy in Budapest made a protest in 1943. After the end of the war, the leaders of the movement sought contacts with representatives of the new Hungary. On the day of the Pentecost

in 1946, they held their last convention in the Sport Hall. Gyorgy Farkas concluded his lecture about the history of KALOT by pointing out that it was dissolved in June 1946.

At the end of the session, first secretary Janos Fabian gave a report on Society affairs and publication work.

9611

CSO: 2500/451

TRADE UNION DELEGATION VISITS USSR

Bucharest MUNCA in Romanian 6 Jul 84 pp 11, 12

[Text] At the invitation of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR, a delegation of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania [UGSR] , headed by Comrade Nicolae Constantin, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP CC and chairman of the Central Council of the UGSR, made an official visit of friendship to the Soviet Union on 17-22 June 1984.

The head of the UGSR delegation was received by Comrade G. V. Romanov, member of the Politburo and CPSU CC secretary.

Representatives of the Romanian trade unions were informed of the activity being carried out by the USSR trade unions in the current stage, the living conditions of the Soviet workers and the successes being gained in the job of building the developed socialist society. Besides Moscow, the delegation of the UGSR Central Council visited the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaydzhan and the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia, industrial enterprises and agricultural units and social-cultural institutes and learned about the concerns and experience of the trade unions in the area of raising labor productivity, saving material and energy resources and introducing the achievements of science and technology into production and the practice of the labor collectives' participation in the leadership, working out and implementation of the plans for social development. The Romanian guests met with the trade union aktiv of Moscow. A meeting of friendship between workers from Romania and the Soviet Union took place at the pipe enterprise in Sumgait.

The UGSR delegation had talks with a delegation of Soviet trade unions, headed by S. A. Salayev, CPSU CC member and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions [CCS].

Talks between the delegations of the UGSR Central Council and the USSR Central Council of Trade Unions took place in a warm, friendly atmosphere. During the talks the sides informed each other of the activities being carried out by the trade unions in the two countries in the current stage.

The head of the UGSR delegation gave information on the remarkable achievement gained by the Romanian people in building socialism under the leadership of the

Romanian Communist party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and on the activity which has taken place to carry out the decisions of the 12th party congress and the RCP National Conference and the program for building the multilaterally developed socialist society and heading Romania toward communism.

Brought out was the concern of the Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general with development of the raw material and energy base, saving raw materials, materials and fuels, improving the technical and quality level of products and the more emphatic growth in labor productivity, export and agricultural production, continuing to raise the material and spiritual standard of living of all the people. The successes with which the workers of Romania are greeting the 40th anniversary of the revolution of social and national liberation and the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution and that of the 13th party congress, as well as the contribution being made by the trade unions to uniting the workers' efforts for the country's social and economic development and for their active participation in firm application of the principles of workers self-management and self-leadership and in leadership of the enterprises and society, were pointed out.

The chairman of the USSR's Central Council of Trade Unions gave information on the growing role of the Soviet trade unions in the social-political system of developed socialism, on their activity for organizing the workers with a view to fulfilling the tasks of the country's economic and social development in the current stage as adopted by the 26th CPSU congress and later plenums of the CPSU CC and by the 17th congress of Soviet trade unions. The creative activity and political enthusiasm of the Soviet workers and their full support for the decisions of the February and April 1984 party plenums and for the unanimous election of Comrade K. U. Chernenko as CPSU CC secretary general and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium were brought out. It was stressed that the evaluations and conclusions contained in Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speeches at the party plenums and on other occasions represent an eloquent expression of the continuity of the Leninist foreign and domestic policy of the Soviet party and state.

During the talks the heads of the two delegations gave special importance to development of relations and collaboration between the trade unions of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR, relations which assert themselves as an important factor in consolidating the fraternal friendship between the peoples of the two countries. The trade unions of the Socialist Republic of Romania and USSR fully support the line promoted by the communist parties of the two countries for continued strengthening of this friendship, multilateral development of collaboration on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, international solidarity, equality of rights and mutual respect. In this context, the sides stressed the special importance of the joint Romanian-Soviet Declaration of 24 November 1976 and the talks which took place in Moscow on 4 June 1984 between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU CC secretary general and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In this connection, there was reaffirmation of the two sides to use the existing opportunities in the trade unions to a greater extent to implement the understandings concluded between our countries, for the continued development and deepening of the relations and collaboration between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR trade unions with a view to increasing

their contribution to the specialization and cooperation in production between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Soviet Union and to timely and quality fulfillment of the production for mutual commercial exchanges.

Toward this goal the two sides signed a program of collaboration between the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania and the Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR.

The heads of the UGSR and CCS delegations reviewed some of the current problems of the international situation and the world trade union movement. The two delegations expressed the full support of the trade unions of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR for the results and documents adopted at the high-level economic meeting of the CEMA member countries in Moscow. The joint wish of the workers and trade unions in the two countries for strengthening peace and faith among peoples, for detente, disarmament and, primarily, for nuclear disarmament was stressed. The sides expressed their concern with the unusual worsening of the international situation, particularly in Europe, as a result of US and NATO actions and placement of US medium-range nuclear missiles in a number of western European countries. This made the Soviet Union adopt measures of response.

The UGS and the USSR's CCS express their full support for the position of Romania and the Soviet Union, which have stated that, by acting together with the other allied socialist states, they will not permit change in the military-strategic balance established to the detriment of the interests of their security and that they will take firm action to reduce arming and insure a balance of forces at the lowest possible level.

The trade unions of Romania and the USSR also support the declaration of their countries on the fact that if measures are to be taken to end the placement of US nuclear missiles in western Europe, which could lead to withdrawal of the missiles already in place, at the same time steps will be taken to cancel response measures. This will create conditions for resuming negotiations with a view to achieving appropriate agreements for freeing Europe from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical.

The two sides reaffirmed the current nature of the proposals sent to the East European countries, proposals formulated in the documents adopted by the heads of the trade union centrals in the European socialist countries in Berlin in September 1984 and Prague in January 1984. The documents make an appeal to the trade union centrals of Europe to participate more actively in the movement against war and nuclear missiles and to the struggle to improve the situation on the continent.

In this connection, the special importance of the meeting which took place in Prague in the summer of 1983 during the world meeting entitled "For peace and life and against nuclear war" was emphasized. The sides expressed their decision to contribute in the future, too, to intensifying the actions of the European trade unions, regardless of orientation and their international affiliation, in the struggle for peace, disarmament, detente and for convening the 5th European trade union conference as soon as possible.

In connection with resuming the work of the Stockholm conference on measures of faith, security and disarmament in Europe, the interest of the workers and trade unions in the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR was stressed for the work of this conference to be finalized with positive results with a view to reducing the danger of war, consolidating stability in international relations on the European continent and throughout the world.

The sides proceeded to an exchange of information on the contribution of the trade unions from the two countries to the activity of the World Trade Union Federation and they stressed their common wish to take action to improve and provide an impetus for its activity and to increase the influence of the federation, to strengthen the anti-imperialist front and to achieve unity of action of the international trade union movement.

The participants in the talks stressed the indestructible tie between the efforts for strengthening peace and the legitimate aspirations of the peoples for freedom, independence and social progress.

In connection with the situation in the Middle East, Central America, the Caribbean zone, Southeast Asia and South Africa, the two sides expressed the solidarity of the workers and the trade unions of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR with the struggle of peoples from Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and apartheid. The delegation of the Central Council of the UGSR and the USSR's CCS delegation stressed the need for solving the litigious problems as well as military conflicts by peaceful means of treaties alone.

Brought out during the talks was the desire of the trade unions from the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR to continue developing ties of solidarity with the workers and trade unions from the capitalist countries and with all progressive forces in the struggle for peace, democracy, social progress and for eliminating underdevelopment and establishing a new international economic system on equitable and democratic bases and in their struggle against the policy of robbery being conducted by the transnational societies.

At the same time, the support which the trade unions of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR are giving to the peace-loving foreign policy promoted by the member countries of the Warsaw Pact and for consolidating peace in Europe and throughout the world and for strengthening friendship and collaboration between workers and trade unions on this continent was emphasized.

The two sides expressed the conviction that the official visit of friendship of the delegation of the UGSR Central Council in the Soviet Union, the talks which took place at this time, the meetings and discussions held, the program of collaboration agreed upon will contribute to future deepening of the friendship and cooperation among the workers and trade unions in the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR.

The delegation of the UGSR Central Council expressed to the Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR and to the Soviet workers their thanks for the warm reception and sincere hospitality they enjoyed, an expression of traditional Romanian-Soviet friendship. The chairman of the Central Council of the UGSR gave the chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR an invitation to make a visit of friendship in Romania at the head of a delegation of Soviet trade unions. The invitation was accepted.

IMPORTANCE OF STRENGTHENING RELATIONS WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 25 Jun 84 pp 13-16

[Article by Dumitru Timu: "Strengthened Friendship and Collaboration With the Socialist Countries As the Major Aim of Romanian Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We are emphasizing collaboration with the socialist countries, with our neighbors, and especially with the Soviet Union. We are militating actively to strengthen the unity and collaboration of all socialist countries and resolve the differences that still exist among some of them, regarding this as an important factor for strengthening the forces of socialism and the struggle for world peace and social progress."

The glorious victory of the Antifascist and Anti-imperialist Revolution for National and Social Liberation on 23 August 1944 not only inaugurated the era of radical revolutionary reforms in Romanian society but was also the starting point of a new foreign policy in full accord with the Romanian people's vital interests and with all nations' most profound aspirations to freedom, independence and progress. In those four decades Romania emerged as a dynamic and constructive presence in the international arena, as illustrated graphically by the esteem enjoyed abroad by its initiatives, procedures and contributions to the efforts to maintain and consolidate peace and to the solution of the great problems of our time, and also by the breadth of its relations with the other states of the world.

A Consistent Planned Objective

The continuing effort to further develop close friendship and all-around collaboration with all socialist countries is outstanding in this respect as a vital objective characteristic of the party's and state's whole foreign policy, carrying on the rich traditions of the Romanian revolutionary workers movement for solidarity and collaboration with all progressive forces in the other countries building the new order today. Based on common ideology and aims, after 23 August 1944 development of relations with all socialist countries became a state policy established in the RCP program documents and emphatically confirmed at the party congresses and the national party conferences.

On the eve of this anniversary celebration we may say with justified pride that relations with the other socialist countries, relations for whose further all-around development the Romanian communists have worked with exemplary consistency, present a very broad picture because Romania has good relations of friendship and cooperation with all the socialist countries, with the USSR and the other neighboring countries, with all the socialist countries in Europe, with the PRC and the other socialist states in Asia and Latin America, and with all countries building the new order. In particular, these relations have acquired a new and richer content in the years since the Ninth Party Congress, since Nicolae Ceausescu has been chief of the party and then of the state. With unfailing consistency the party secretary general and president of the republic has pleaded and worked for stronger ties, development of cooperation, and consolidation of friendly collaboration and unity of all socialist countries in order to accomplish the great revolutionary task in which they are engaged and to enhance the influence and prestige of socialism in the world.

The experience of those years strikingly demonstrates that a critical part in the constantly rising trend of Romania's relations with the other socialist countries is played by the ties of friendship and solidarity among the communist parties as leading political forces of all society, and the meetings and conversations at the summit have proved to be exceptionally important in that respect. In these nearly 20 years Nicolae Ceausescu has held many meetings with the party and state leaders in the other socialist states, in Bucharest or on his visits to socialist countries and international meetings, which meetings marked out new directions of collaboration and made major contributions to the development of our countries' and peoples' cooperation on new levels.

The principles of equality, respect for national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual benefit and friendly mutual aid form the lasting foundation of the relations Romania has developed with all the other socialist countries, which principles can secure the best conditions for every nation's progress and also for development of productive friendly collaboration and consolidation of the socialist countries' unity and solidarity. One of the great merits of the RCP and its secretary general is the consistency of their efforts to establish new and better relations on the basis of those principles. The RCP considers it the historic mission of the socialist countries to set a practical example of relations radically different from those imposed by imperialism and based upon injustice, domination and oppression, that is to set the example of fully equal relations like those between comrades at arms and work in building the most just system.

The effort to create an optimal political-legal framework to develop productive cooperation has been reflected in the treaties of friendship and collaboration concluded with various socialist countries and in the joint declarations and statements signed at the summit, which are highly important documents establishing the new principles for relations and offering extensive opportunities for diversified exchanges with the respective states.

Extensive All-Around Cooperation in Building the New Order

Nicolae Ceausescu has continually stressed the high priority that socialist Romania places upon development of relations with the neighboring socialist states

in the general structure of its relations of friendship and collaboration with all socialist countries. In speaking of Romania's constant effort in this direction, the party secretary general pointed out that "The RCP and the Socialist Republic of Romania have been consistently emphasizing further development of friendship and all-around collaboration with all socialist countries. We consider strengthened relations with the neighboring socialist countries most important, and we are firmly resolved to make every effort from now on to expand good-neighbor relations of collaboration and solidarity with them."

In determining this policy the Romanian party and state proceeded both from the good relations that have existed for years between the Romanian people and the neighboring peoples, inspired by their common aspirations and ideals in the struggle for social and national liberation, freedom and progress, and from the need of exploiting their economic and technical-scientific potentials and the advantage of geographic proximity for the common good. And the fact that Romania is maintaining lasting friendships and cooperation today with all the neighboring countries is unquestionably a reason for satisfaction.

The recent visits and high-level meetings have both been among the most graphic illustrations of this. By their productive results they have opened up new prospects for the relations between Romania and the respective countries. Thus Nicolae Ceausescu's recent working visit to the Soviet Union and his conversations with Konstantin Chernenko, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, made a new and important contribution in this respect to strengthened friendship and collaboration between our countries, parties and peoples. The decision, confirmed on the visit, to further strengthen cooperation between the RCP and the CPSU and to expand contacts and exchanges of experience on matters of common interest is of outstanding importance. The importance should also be noted of the agreements made to considerably increase the economic exchanges and even further enhance economic collaboration and cooperation on the basis of some long-term accords. We know what an important part is played by economic and technical-scientific collaboration in Romanian-Soviet relations as a whole. From this standpoint the new agreements will stabilize those relations and bring about an increasingly extensive exploitation of the two countries' great potentials. The same is true of the agreements on closer coordination of the national economic plans, expanded specialization and cooperation in production, and increased exchanges of goods and reciprocal deliveries of machinery and equipment in the interest of both countries and peoples.

Nicolae Ceausescu's visits of friendship to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are also noteworthy in the chronicle of Romania's bilateral relations with the neighboring socialist countries. The conversations and agreements there will even further stimulate cooperation between our neighboring and friendly countries and peoples. Meanwhile Romania has widely developed its connections with the other socialist countries in Europe. The official visit of friendship of the party and state delegation headed by Nicolae Ceausescu to Poland is another indication of the consistency with which the RCP is working in that direction. The documents and agreements concluded on that occasion determined new ways and means of intensifying mutually advantageous collaboration.

The copious picture of Romania's relations with the other socialist countries is completed by a number of other important events indicative of the particular importance Romania attaches to cooperation with all socialist countries.

The meetings at the level of the highest party and state administrations of Romania and the PRC, which greatly stimulated the development of Romanian-Chinese relations, are noteworthy in this connection, as well as the widely significant contributions made by Nicolae Ceausescu's visit 2 years ago to friendly China and the visit Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CCP Central Committee, made to Romania a year later.

The series of examples also includes other such events as the visit of Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party and president of the DPRK, to Romania following the meetings of the leaders of the two parties and countries in Pyongyang, as well as contacts on various levels with representatives of other socialist countries. All together they illustrate the constant trend of Romanian foreign policy toward continuing development of friendship and all-around cooperation with all socialist states.

The cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples take many and striking forms. Politically, the strong development of ties of friendship between the RCP and the communist and workers parties in the other socialist countries are noteworthy, and on the governmental level, contacts between parliaments, the mass and public organizations etc. have also been developed.

The intensification and diversification of economic collaboration, the material basis of all collaboration among our countries, are particularly significant. In the period since the Ninth Party Congress alone, the volume of exchanges of material goods with those countries has increased by more than 6 times, and today they amount to 53 percent of Romania's total international economic exchanges. Over 270 agreements for economic and technical-scientific collaboration are now being implemented, and in a number of cases the volume of the exchanges will be doubled during the current five-year plan. Higher forms of collaboration have been continuously expanded, among which construction of big economic capacities by joint efforts is particularly important. This is borne out by such examples, among many others, as the Iron Gates I and Iron Gates II Hydroelectric Power Complexes on the Danube constructed jointly with Yugoslavia, the Giurgiu-Ruse Heavy Machinery and Equipment Enterprise constructed in cooperation with Bulgaria, the Stinca-Costesti Hydroelectric Power Complex on the Prut constructed with the USSR, etc. Meanwhile specialization and cooperation in production are being intensified, and a considerable number of projects of that kind are now being implemented that will result in better use of the production capacities and the technical and technological potentials of major industrial sectors.

A Broad Program for Collaboration Under CEMA

Of course collaboration under CEMA has a highly important place among all these relations, and Romania, one of the founders of the organization, is heavily emphasizing development of relations with its member states and further improvement of its activity. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out on this subject, "Romania highly esteems CEMA's contribution and role in developing collaboration among the socialist member countries and in accelerating the socioeconomic progress of every socialist country participating in this organization's activity. Romania has worked consistently for development of economic and technical-scientific collaboration with the member countries and has actively contributed to improvement of this organization's activity, so that it will serve the

aims and purposes for which it was founded as well as possible and adequately perform the tasks and functions assigned it in its regulations."

Covering 19 percent of the earth's territory and including one-sixth of the world's population, the CEMA countries have a large share in the world economy. They produce one-third of the industrial output and realize one-fourth of the total national incomes in the world. In view of this vast potential they can jointly resolve some far-reaching problems of great importance to their accelerated progress on the path of socialism and communism.

Romania's collaboration in CEMA takes the form of participation in about 250 accords, conventions and other multilateral agreements, especially those to build large production capacities by joint efforts in the pulp, asbestos and ferrous alloys industries, to work a deposit of natural gases and to build a nuclear electric power plant in the Soviet Union, in return for which Romania receives the products and services supplied and the products made in the new units. Moreover a large number of Romanian industrial units are participating in more than 50 multilateral agreements for specialization and cooperation in the machinery and chemical industries. Romania is collaborating closely in the fields of science and technology, implementing over 100 agreements on specific research and development problems and joint research programs. Undoubtedly there are some major reserves for development of collaboration and specialization and cooperation in production in order to make more efficient use of the member countries' productive and technical-scientific potentials in the interest of each country and of socialism as a whole.

It was in this spirit that the Romanian delegation headed by Nicolae Ceausescu attended the recent high-level Economic Conference of the CEMA Countries in Moscow, making an active contribution to the efficiency of the proceedings and the preparation of the documents. As we know, the "Declaration on the Main Directions of Development and Further Intensification of Economic and Technical-Scientific Collaboration Among the CEMA Countries" approved at the conference covers a wide range of actions, assigning specific tasks to each country's economic and planning organs and recommending mutually advantageous expansion of trade among the member states. Meanwhile the participants in the conference set a number of major goals for collaboration, including a more rapid shift of their countries' economies to intensive development, further growth of production and labor productivity, technical and qualitative enhancement of the products, development of the export potential, more rational allocation of the productive forces, and acceleration of the process of gradual leveling of the member countries' economic development. It is also intended to intensify collaboration for purposes of joint solution of some economic problems vital to the dynamic and harmonious development of their national economies and for purposes of intensifying production, introducing technical-scientific advances, and procuring the necessary resources, especially fuels, energy, raw materials, food products and consumer goods, and modern machinery and equipment.

It is very significant that it was agreed at the conference to draw up a General Program of Technical-Scientific Progress for 15-20 years jointly and on the basis of the national programs, in order to expedite solution of the major problems in science and technology and application of the findings to production in the CEMA countries so that socialism will take its place as the chief bearer of contemporary technical-scientific progress. The conference also emphasized

intensified cooperation and specialization in production, especially in such important sectors as machine building, and it was agreed that collaboration shall be comprehensive but primarily concentrated on development of the key sectors like electronics and the microprocessor and robot industries and on supplying the economies with high-quality machinery and equipment up to world standards. More intensive cooperation in agriculture and agricultural food production was also among the questions considered. As we know the CEMA countries have a vast potential and major reserves for this, and it was accordingly pointed out at the conference that it is possible and necessary to develop and perfect the technical-material base of agriculture and the food industry, providing for continuing improvement of the supply and the best possible satisfaction of the public's consumer demands.

As it was pointed out at the conference, accomplishment of these vital objectives requires stabilizing relations on a permanent basis by concluding long-term accords and contracts as a main form of cooperation under CEMA. Such accords and contracts lend stability and perspective to cooperation, enable each national planning body to determine its aims and potentials for collaboration in advance, provide the background for better coordination of its plans, stabilize relations and accordingly enhance their effectiveness.

All these decisions and measures are unquestionably important. Now it is essential to start carrying them out immediately by way of long-term bilateral or multilateral agreements and accords in the spirit of the provisions and principles for collaboration specified in the conference documents, and especially to carry them out consistently and promptly. It is urgently necessary to proceed to practical measures to implement the agreements without delay so that the approved decisions will show good results as soon as possible, even starting this year.

As pointed out in CEMA's regulations, it is clearly no closed organization but, on the contrary, open to widespread cooperation. The conference documents point out, moreover, that the member countries will continue to promote cooperation with the other socialist countries and will expand their connections with the developing countries and the developed capitalist states. This will help to strengthen international understanding and the cause of worldwide detente.

For the Greater Prestige and Influence of Socialism, Peace and Collaboration

In its constant effort to develop relations with all socialist countries, the RCP regards it as their mission to set an example of better relations based upon complete equality and mutual respect. Of course the socialist countries differ in their levels of economic and social development and the particular conditions under which they are building the new order. In view of that great diversity, Romania feels different interpretations of international events or problems are inevitable because the socialist countries are free, independent and sovereign states. But the RCP feels that this should not affect the friendship and collaboration among the respective countries and what is fundamental and unites them will prevail, while friendly discussions will serve to overcome any differences and restore and consolidate their unity. Meanwhile Romania has been militating ceaselessly for constructive solutions of the problems and for the greater solidarity of the socialist countries. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, experience

has proved the entire correctness of Romania's positions and effort to strengthen the socialist countries' solidarity and collaboration.

In keeping with this basic position, the RCP and its secretary general have attached great importance to the correct approach to the relationship between the national and international factors, making the highly important point that the effort to develop one's own socialist nation cannot conflict in any way with the effort to develop collaboration and solidarity among the socialist countries, just as the latter cannot conflict with the development of the nation and independent national states, since the two aspects interact in one dialectical whole. It is one of the great merits of the RCP and its secretary general that they emphatically projected the truth, based on the inseparable connection between fulfillment of national and international tasks, that the more definitely each socialist country demonstrates the ability of socialism to better meet the demands of social progress, to secure the prosperity and to enhance the civilization of the nation, the more it contributes to the general experience in building the new order and the more it strengthens socialism and its power of attraction.

There is no question that further consolidation of all-around collaboration among all socialist countries is becoming more and more an objective necessity for successful construction of the new order and joint solution of the problems presented by the requirements for more rapid progress in prosperity and socialist civilization. In militating consistently for extensive development of close friendship, solidarity and all-around collaboration with all countries building socialism and communism and for the socialist countries' greater coordination and unity, the RCP and socialist Romania have been fostering the firm conviction that such a course fully serves the Romanian people's vital interests as well as those of the other peoples building the new order, since their collaboration and unity are also controlling factors for the whole process of world revolution, for strengthening the anti-imperialist front, and for securing peace.

Under the present circumstances especially, when the international situation is undergoing an unprecedented deterioration and the very fate of mankind is in question due to the intensified armaments race and especially the nuclear one, stronger unity, collaboration and solidarity among all socialist countries is essential to safeguard all humanity's vital interests and to defend all peoples' supreme right to a free and decent existence. As Romania has insisted, there is no more important task now than to stop the armaments race, preserve peace, and forestall a nuclear catastrophe. It is gratifying to find this idea also in the declaration "International Economic Collaboration and Maintenance of Peace" approved at the Moscow Conference of CEMA.

It is well known that Romania is developing active collaboration with the other socialist countries in the United Nations and other international forums and is advocating close cooperation in order to stop the deterioration of the international situation, resume the course of detente and collaboration, secure peace and strengthen security in Europe and the whole world. It is also known that Romania is working for stronger collaboration with the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries and in general with the armies of neighboring countries, all socialist countries, and other friendly countries. The Romanian president has repeatedly pointed out the particular responsibility of the member countries of the two military alliances to conclude an agreement to stop the placement of new rock-ets in Europe and to begin disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. To that

end Romania has suggested direct treaties between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on a number of problems of reduction of armaments, believing that the countries of the two blocs can and must contribute to an understanding between the USSR and the United States that will ultimately lead to the permanent liberation of Europe from nuclear weapons of any kind.

On behalf of the great aim of consolidating peace, the declaration approved at the Moscow Conference confirmed a number of main courses of action including cessation of accumulation of new nuclear weapons on the continent, resumption of negotiations for adequate agreements to free Europe from nuclear weapons, total prohibition of tests of nuclear weapons, prohibition of chemical weapons and militarization of outer space, conclusion of a treaty for mutual abstention from military force and maintenance of peaceful relations between the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO states, and reduction of these states' military outlays and use of the funds so released for economic and social development, including aid to the developing countries.

These are ideas and aims that Romania has been advocating with tireless consistency, to whose implementation the socialist countries as a whole can undoubtedly make a substantial contribution by strengthening their collaboration and working in close solidarity with all progressive forces of mankind for the triumph of the ideals of peace, for all nations' independence and progress, and for a better and more just world for the generations of today and tomorrow.

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ACTIONS OF CATHOLIC CLERGY AGAINST NATIONAL UNITY

Cluj-Napoca STEAUA in Romanian Feb 84 pp 3, 4

[Article by Ion Lungu: "From the Great Mass of 1744 to the Grand National Assembly of 1918"]

[Text] Despite the many centuries of tribulations that it has been subjected to, our people have preserved their identity, cultivating their language, traditions and steadfast belief in their own power, as well as in their sacred right to a free, peaceful and independent existence. At the crossroads of the migrating tribes, they carried on in a worthy and courageous manner, as the proverbial mankind, with friends and enemies. But, then their exemplary hospitality was answered - and not just once by chance - with violence, unbounded arrogance and self-importance on behalf of those who violated and deprived our people of the inalienable right to decide their own future.

Thus, the Romanians in Transylvania had not decided to develop their dukedoms along the Somes, the Cris rivers and the Mures, when they had to face a new wave of migrators: the conquests of the Hungarian kings. These, however, were neither rapid, easy nor complete. They lasted an entire historical period, beginning with the 10th century and ending in the second-half of the 13th century and the beginning of the next. It was a period during which the Romanian peasantry had "masters" among the ranks of their own nobility as well. Concomitantly with the consolidation of the dependency of the Transylvanian voivodes with regards to the Hungarian kingdom and in order for the upper and middle-level Romanian nobility class to preserve its privileges, this class moved to Catholicism, becoming denationalized over time. Thus, for example, if Iancu of Hunedoara, his son Matei Corvin and the humanist professor Nicolaus Olahus, with high noble and state distinctions in the Hungarian feudal kingdom, were still proud of their national origins, the representatives of the upper and middle-level Romanian noble class later on, who have converted to Catholicism, were completely denationalized, absolutely denying their own people. Furthermore, during the 15th and 16th centuries great class struggles took place in which the oppressed and the oppressors, regardless of the people to which they belonged, were found in opposite camps. At the revolt at Boblina (1437-1438), as well as during the peasants' revolt in 1514, under the leadership of the Szeckler Gheorghe Doja the Romanian and Hungarian slaves were joined together, and aligning themselves with these people were craftsmen and other poor classes of people from the cities, as well as a portion of the lower nobility belonging to both peoples.

The subjugation of the popular masses and the growth of feudal anarchy weakened the Hungarian kingdom's ability for defense against the attacks of the Ottomans. A few years after the defeat at Mohacs, the southern and central portion of Hungary was transformed into the pashalik at Buda. In the following decades, other parts of the Hungarian kingdom were also subjected to the same rule, with new pashaliks being created: at the beginning, the one in Timisoara and, later, the one at Oradea. The portions that remained unoccupied were for more than a century Upper Hungary, under the leadership of the Habsburgs, who were constantly trying to also annex the Principality of Transylvania - which had come under Ottoman suzerainty during the same period. This dispute between the Habsburgs and the Great Porte was very complex, and the Romanian rulers in the Danubian principalities were frequently required to take part in this. The transformation of the majority of the Hungarian kingdom into a Turkish pashalik, the shift of Transylvania under Ottoman suzerainty, alongside Wallachia and Moldavia, and especially the participation of certain Muntenian and Moldavia rulers in the dispute between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, culminating in the unification of all three of the Romanian countries in 1600 by Mihai the Brave, forced the Hungarian nobility and princes in the Ardeal to see the new realities: the fact that the majority peasantry under their rule were of the same language and the same "law" as those in Wallachia and Moldavia, including their rulers and noblemen. As a result, in the 16th century, when the majority of the Hungarian nobility and peasantry in Transylvania were embracing reforms, the feudal rulers in the Ardeal tried by all means to convert the Romanians in order to alienate them from the Danubian principalities. As in the case of the conversions to Catholicism, the reforms were not accepted by the Romanian peasantry, while the portion of the lower nobility that accepted Calvinism was denationalized sufficiently quickly. In addition to the propaganda methods there also was violence against the Romanian Orthodox hierarchy by way of their forced subordination to the Calvinist churches as well as through repressive measures against the common people. Failing to succeed in imposing reforms upon the Romanian population in Transylvania, the Hungarian nobility and princes attempted to bring about a consolidation of class alliances with the Saxon patricians and the Szeckler military leaders, an alliance founded in the struggle to defeat the revolt at Bobilna and encountered following their victory in the 1514 peasants' revolt in "Werboczy's Tripartite."

The problem of this alliance, known under the name of "Unio trium nationum," is frequently poorly understood since it is not taken into account what this has meant throughout time. Thus, both initially and in Werboczy's Tripartite, Unio trium nationum referred exclusively to the privileged classes and groups. The three "nations" did not then have the meaning of national entities, but of classes. Included in the same alliance were: 1) "natio nobilium," regardless of which people, including those of Romanian origins, in other words, not just the Hungarian nobility; 2) "natio sicularum," which contained exclusively the military personnel of this population, but not just common Szecklers; and 3) "natio saxonum," which also included exclusively the Saxons having the privileges of nobility. For that reason, both in the Cluj-Manastur Agreement (1437) and in the Werboczy Tripartite the common people - regardless of which

people they belonged to - were the "misera plebs" linked to the land and subjected to the most draconian punishments. And, from a legal point of view their components were part of the "populus" and they were, therefore, "sons" and citizens of the principality. This is true, especially with their very many duties and insignificant rights, but in any case they were "sons of the principality."

With regards to this state of affairs, new laws were introduced by the nobility and princes of the Ardeal only in the 17th century. Thus, since the upper and middle-level Romanian nobility - at an earlier time - and a portion of the lower nobility - later on - had been denationalized, the idea then of "nobiles" could be easily confused with that of Hungarian nobles. This is so because at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the next in the spirit of the process of creating a bourgeois nation, in the feudal concept of a "nation of nobles," the common people of the same nationality would also be included alongside the Hungarian nobles. With regards to the "nation of Szecklers" and the "nation of Saxons," things can be much more easily distorted from the moment that the feudal concepts themselves - which at that time designated merely the privileged groups of these nationalities - and even the ambiguity of the terminology that was used also were capable of including the common co-nationals of the two. At this point, laws were introduced which created a constitutional system of "apartheid," a system established by adding to the Tripartite two special codes: the first - "Approbatae Constitutiones," approved in 1653; the second - "Compillatae Constitutiones," approved in 1669. If through the first of these two national discrimination was introduced, the second improved it. Thus, according to the two new bodies of law, a closed feudal system was established through which the "populus" in Transylvania was constituted exclusively of the three "nations," also called "states," composed of the privileged groups of Hungarians, Saxons and Szecklers. These groups also had outlined for them their areas of administrative-legal authority (the authority in "Fundus regius" went to the Saxons, the other seats went to the Szecklers and the councils and leadership of the principality went to the Hungarian nobles). Into the "people" of Transylvania there now also came the plebian groups of the "three" nations. But, according to these bodies of law, all Romanians - nobles, serfs and slaves - were excluded from this feudal concept, being considered for the first time as "tolerated" on their own ancient homeland, even though they were the oldest native population and the most numerous in the principality. The same feudal system also established religious discrimination, permitting merely four "accepted" beliefs: Calvinism, Lutheranism, Roman Catholicism and Unitarianism. The Romanians' church was declared "heretic" and as such merely "tolerated," but only under the condition of the subordination of its hierarchical leader, the bishop, to the head of the Calvinist church, who also filled the position of superintendent of the Orthodoxy.

This was the situation when the Austrian troops forced the Turks out of Hungary and, a short time after this, came to occupy the Banat and Transylvania. The Catholic Habsburgs had invaded new territories as "liberators," with the

Habsburgs themselves becoming, however, the rulers after the Turks were driven out. They also added to their list of prior titles, especially adding to the one of the Romano-German Empire, that of king of Hungary and prince of Transylvania.

Upon the arrival of the Austrian troops in Transylvania, the conquerors realized that their religion was followed by a tiny minority while the ruling feudal classes belonged, in an overwhelming majority to the Reformation. The conquerors did not intend to leave this state of affairs like this too long. Furthermore, their ambitious plans for conquest did not involve just Hungary and Transylvania, but also the Danubian principalities as well as the other Balkan states south of the Danube, whose inhabitants were all members of the Orthodox Church. Together with the actions to consolidate their rule in the new territories, they were also thinking about preparing a religious offensive to the east (within the framework of their policy of "Drang nach Osten). And, in this regard, they showed themselves to be in a very great hurry. Decades before, they had recruited their Jesuit priests from among the ranks of Romanians in the Banat, among whom some of these persons came to be religious figures of the first order in the empire, such as Ilie Buitul, a professor at the Catholic College at Cluj, or Gavril Uvul, who at first was a professor at Vienna University and later the chief of the Catholic Episcopal School in Cassovia (Kosice), the first Romanian scholar who wrote and published works in the field of philosophy (in Latin). And, in addition to the Jesuit elite the Austrians also wanted to attract the masses, using the experiences gained with the Ruthenian population in sub-Carpathian Russia, by bringing the Orthodox Romanians of Transylvania under the supreme leadership of the papacy, and recognizing, at the same time, the other three dogmatic requirements ("filioque," that is, the Holy Ghost originates from the Son as well; adding the Catholic "purgatory" to the Orthodox and Catholic "heaven" and "hell;" and the sharing of "unleavened bread" instead of the leavened bread), but preserving the Orthodox "ritual."

The first attempt was launched in the 1692 decree by Emperor Leopold, through which he promised to give Orthodox priests equal rights with those of the Catholic clergy if they would "join the Church of Rome." As a result, in 1697 at Alba Iulia, Bishop Teofil convened a synod in which it was decided to accept the "unification." But, old man Teofil died and "the unification with the Church of Rome" still did not become a reality. It was to be carried out by the new bishop, Atanasie Anghel, freshly "picked" for this position, in Wallachia. At the synod of 1698, this bishop together with 38 archpriests decided to move the Romanians in Transylvania to "the unification with the Church of Rome." In the same year, in order to consolidate the new religion, emperor Leopold issued his first "decree" by which he confirmed the recognition of equality between the "unified" Romanian clergy and the Catholic clergy. And, since the "unification" was being carried out with difficulty, in 1701 Leopold resorted to his "second decree" whereby the Romanian people themselves

who had accepted the "unification" should also enjoy all the civil rights, with the Romanians no longer being considered "tolerated." But, after several years, this latter decree was declared lost and only its negative provisions would be implemented: that of installing a Jesuit theologian alongside the leader of the "unified" Romanian churches in the position of "helper," but actually a censor.

In the years that followed, exactly because the "unification" had not brought the Romanian people any type of relief, the followers of the new religion were sufficiently small in number. Furthermore, Atanasie Anghel's followers were proving to be the ever more docile tools of the Catholic Church. From the rank of bishop, which the first hierarch of the Orthodox Church had held in Transylvania, the leader of the new religion (considered to be "accepted," but in practice still not equal to the other "accepted" religions) was reduced to the rank of bishop of Fagaras. The last of the "unified" bishops, prior to Inocentiu Micu, had been a Roman Catholic priest from Alba Iulia, and his name was Pataki and he was nearly completely Magyarized. The acceptance of "unification," therefore, threatened to produce a very serious and dangerous withdrawal of a significant portion of the Romanian population from the Romanians of Transylvania, not to mention its break from the great Romanian Orthodox masses in Wallachia and Moldavia. It was, thus, shown that any new religion which claimed to be above national values represented a new danger of breaking the people away from their belonging to a national identity.

At these moments of profound historical crisis, there appeared on the scene of religious and political affairs in Transylvania the young man Ioan Micu (as a monk and as Bishop Inocentiu), originally from a family of free peasants living near the border with Wallachia. Being named bishop while still in school (in 1729), he took his place as bishop in 1732 when he obtained the title of baron, as Klein de Szad, and became a member in the Transylvanian diet.

In the first year of his episcopacy, Inocentiu Micu forwarded to the Court in Vienna (1732) a letter in which he asked for respect for the rights that had been granted to the unified clergy in the first decree issued by Leopold. In 1736, he sent another letter in which he requested adherence to the provisions in the second decree. The diet rose vehemently against him, being ready to throw him out the window in the building where the discussions were being held. In 1737, he returned with a new letter on the same subject, but this time one more firm in which he referred to the Latin origins of the Romanian people and the oldness of these people, in addition to the provisions of Leopold's second decree. The diet permitted not even a reading of the text of the letter. In this same spirit, in 1741 Inocentiu Micu completed a new letter in which he showed the results of his own census, showing extremely clearly the rights of the Romanian people in Transylvania, who bore the heavy military and civil burdens, but did not enjoy a single right, although they were supposed to be given rights and freedoms in accordance with their material contributions.

The Romanian peasants in Transylvania became ever more impatient with regards to the imperial promises to give them certain rights and privileges. In this atmosphere, there arose the "anti-unionist" movement led by Visarion Sarai. Inocentiu Micu profited from these circumstances and convened a synod at Blaj on 25 June 1744, a synod that came to be known to contemporaries and descendants as "the great mass of 1744." On this date, the Romanian bishop, without asking for special approval from the feudal fora, also invited to this great discussion Orthodox clergy and laymen, in addition to the "unified" clergy and lay persons. This was, in fact, the first national assembly in the history of the Romanian people in Transylvania, as well as in the entire country since until this assembly no one had addressed our people in its entirety regardless of social status and religious preference. At this meeting, the great Transylvanian patriot was more resolute and radical than ever: he clearly asked for either the granting of rights for all Romanians in Transylvania or the abandonment of the "unification," starting with the bishop.

The ruling classes no longer permitted Inocentiu Micu to continue his struggle openly. As a result, he was called to Vienna by the Empress Maria Teresa "to account" for what had happened. After a day of being seen by her investigators, feeling that they were planning something, the great patriot secretly left for Rome, where he resumed his series of letters. In the end, he was forced, by hunger and misery, to accept his removal from the position of bishop, dying a poor man in Rome and being buried in the Ruthenian Episcopal Church in the Eternal City. Before dying, he expressed his great wish in one of his letters to have his remains transported to Transylvania because, as he said: "One can only rise again from the earth of your homeland."

After Inocentiu Micu's forced resignation, only Bishop Grigore Maior, a believer in Micu's teachings, was to continue this political line in a steadfast manner.

Inocentiu Micu's contribution - both before the "Great Mass of 1744" and during the period of that assembly and while in exile - was an extraordinary alert signal for stopping the process of denationalizing our people by way taking up different religious faiths. This line was also continued by the great scholars of the Transylvanian School, led by Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Sincai, Petru Maior and Ioan Budai-Deleanu. These people, together with the historical and philosophical substantiation of national expectations and the formation of an enlightened national ideology, separated the national struggle - in the political, scientific and cultural fields - from membership in a certain religion. Although all these people had theological training, they rose above the various religions among which our people were divided at that time. They were in opposition to the majority of the "unified" clergy, and, first of all, their contemporary Ioan Bob who, beyond his so-called good intentions, could not understand the national ideal formulated by the leaders of the Transylvanian School.

Inocentiu Micu's message also found a strong response in the popular revolutionary movements of his time, even if they were against the "unification." We have in mind the revolt by Sofronie of Cioara, which occurred under the guise of a religious event, but especially the great peasant revolt in Apuseni led by Horea, Closca and Crisan, whose 200th anniversary we observe this year. With regards to Inocentiu Micu's ordeal, there were also those writings put forth by the progressive bourgeoisie (with the leaders of the Transylvanian School participating in the writing and defense of these works) in 1790-1791, although these presented certain more modest demands than those expressed by their great predecessor at his peak moments. The "Great Mass" was to have, however, a new, higher phase in 1848, at the great assemblies at Blaj (starting with the one of 3/15 May and ending with the one in September). At these meetings, in addition to the abolition of feudalism, where Inocentiu Micu had also tried to make significant progress, the problem of national self-determination was brought up, including the idea of unifying all the Romanian countries in Daco-Romania, the later modern Romania. Once again, the masses - this time much more aware and in truly impressive numbers - acted upon their own fate, confirming their decision with blood in the battles in the Apuseni under the leadership of the most noble and brave Romanian revolutionary in Transylvania at that time, Avram Iancu.

A tradition had been created of bringing together the popular masses in order to formulate their demands and to express their revolutionary thoughts and dreams. Along this line, the movement of the popular masses in Transylvania was culminated in 1918 when, following the national-democratic and popular revolution of the subjugated peoples, the dual Austro-Hungarian Empire was destroyed. At this time, the progressive Romanian political leadership of the two parties (the Romanian National Party and the Romanian section of the Social-Democrat Party of Hungary), creating a common organizational forum (the Central Romanian National Council), prepared for and ensured the holding of the Grand National Assembly at Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918. On this date, 1,228 delegates elected by the Romanian people in Transylvania, the Banat, Crisana and Maramures, as well as over 100,000 participants in the proclamation of the Great Unification, completed the millenia-long dream of all Romanians - the creation of a free, democratic, unified and independent state on the homeland of ancient Dacia. This was decided by a plebiscite, by the delegates elected by the masses and not by way of a gift from the Entente victorious in war, as was claimed and is still claimed by the enemies of the Great Unification. Through their decision, the masses required these powers at take this completed act into account, an act which also represented the desire and the right of the Romanian people.

The Great Mass of 1744 had opened a royal path in our history which culminated with the grand national assembly at Alba Iulia. Precisely because any religious considerations were overcome, the final great national affirmation of the Romanian Transylvanians could not be carried out at Blaj, like the synod headed by Inocentiu Micu or like the revolutionary popular assemblies in 1848 led and inspired by Simion Barnutiu and Avram Iancu, but rather

in the fortress where Mihai the Brave had achieved for a brief moment the unification of the three Romanian countries, in the holy place of Crisan's martyrdom (in a cell) and the martyrdom of Horea and Closca (on the wheel) in 1785. For that reason, Alba Iulia remains a symbol of the unity of all Romanians under the signs of progress and mankind and the solidarity of the Romanian people with the coinhabitating nationalities, ideals which we have just fully achieved during our times, under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party.

8724

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IMPORTANCE OF RESPECT FOR INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 26 Apr 84 p 6

[Article by Ion Stoica: "Respect for Independence and Sovereignty of Nations, an Essential Condition for Peace and International Collaboration"]

[Text] The foreign policy promoted by Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu is an impressive contribution to solution of the major problems of the contemporary world.

Assigning its true value to Romania's historic experience, confirming the conclusions imposed by this experience and the phenomena, events, and trends that have predominated in international life since the war, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has imparted to Romanian foreign policy an orientation in which one of the directions of ideas and action of this policy gives concrete expression to the requirement dictating that at present, more than at any time in the past, there should be firm respect for the right of every people independently to choose and follow its path of social and economic development. In this context national independence and sovereignty, along with non-intervention in domestic affairs, has become an indispensable condition for Romania, both in its own development and in establishment and conduct of relations between Romania and all the other countries in the world. Our party and state, headed by President Nicolae Ceausescu, at the same time consistently advocate mandatory inclusion of these requirements among the desiderata to be asserted and fulfilled if democratization of world economic and political life is to pass from the stage of necessity to reality. In the Romanian conception, the building of a better and juster world, without weapons and without wars, a world in which every country has assured for it the material and spiritual conditions needed for realizing its natural aspirations for progress, can be accomplished only if independence and sovereignty are considered to be fundamental inalienable attributes of a people. This will be a world in which the politics and relationships of domination, plunder, and direct and flagrant violation of the rights of a people will be abolished, to be replaced by peace, detente, equitable collaboration among equal partners, regardless of political and social regime, economic and military development, stage of development, and the area included in the borders of a particular country.

In giving concrete expression to such a position, Romania, headed by President Nicolae Ceausescu, adopts the content of the concepts of independence and national sovereignty as it is embodied in international law and, in the view of the majority of countries of the world, in the complex but especially necessary process involved in erection of a new world economic and political order. In extremely condensed form the term "national independence" defines a fundamental attribute of a country, that is, the right of a country to determine its own destiny, with no external interference. The term "national sovereignty" denotes the capacity, quality, and inalienable right of a country freely to solve its domestic and foreign problems,

without interference and at the same time without violating the sovereignty of other countries. As thus regarded, sovereignty is manifested in effective and unhampered performance of the domestic and foreign functions of a country, through its exercise of prerogatives of a political, economic, and cultural nature and exercise of jurisdiction over the territory and population belonging to it. However concise the evocation of the two concepts may be, it cannot fail to cast light on the great value of the position of Romania, headed by President Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding the highly topical interest of respect for national independence and sovereignty. This interest is fully confirmed by the evolution of international life. As is known, it is exactly the aspirations for recognition of these inalienable attributes that have led to the struggle by many peoples resulting in the creation on the map of the world of dozens of new countries, which are now engaged in consolidating their political independence and in achieving full economic independence. In some areas of the globe there are still peoples for whom abolition of foreign domination and creation of an independent and sovereign country of their own represent the goal toward which they have bent all efforts and for which the advanced, progressive forces of the respective peoples are taking militant action. The problem of national independence and sovereignty is assigned high priority even in the case of the highly developed capitalist countries. One of the most eloquent proofs in this regard is afforded, for example, by the disputes among the Common Market countries. Even in the opinion of state or government leaders of the member countries, these disputes illustrate nothing but the resolution of these countries to check trends aimed, directly or indirectly, at undermining national attributes, in the form of "transfer" of some of these rights, in whole or in part, to supranational organizations. The persistence of these disputes and the "perpetual deferral" of the due dates recorded in the articles of establishment of the EEC mean nothing more than what many political observers have termed the "viability of national attributes."

Examination of the contemporary world thus offers convincing arguments in support of the conception of Romania, headed by President Nicolae Ceausescu, that at the present time national independence and sovereignty not only are not outmoded, as is asserted by political scientists in other countries, who apparently are entirely impartial. On the contrary, respect for these fundamental rights of every country must be included among the elements which must be realized if the the present and future of mankind are to be in harmony with the aspirations of every people and with the interests of progress, peace, and international cooperation and sovereignty. The validity of the Romanian position is demonstrated from several viewpoints, only a few of which will be dealt with here. The existence and exercise of the rights to national independence and sovereignty afford the possibility of full utilization of the human and material resources available to a country, in its own interest and in keeping with its wishes. Only in this way, having its territorial integrity assured and being shielded from external interference or pressures, can a people concentrate its attention and efforts on carrying out the development programs it has deliberately devised. In another context, contemporary realities invalidate assertions to the effect that a contradiction exists between national independence and sovereignty, on the one hand, and the interdependence manifested throughout the world, on the other. The more pronounced interdependence, the need for ever broader and deeper international cooperation,

state the advocates of such theories, is restricted by the display of national attributes. Going even farther in their statements, these theorists argue for "cession" to supranational organizations or "attenuation" of some of the rights of national entities. They allege that doing so would facilitate the conduct of relations among nations. But, as has been demonstrated, full independence and national sovereignty are precisely what enable a country to take part unhampered in international economic and political life, assert its rights, and assume its obligations, since respect for these fundamental rights also implies equality of rights, respect for territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage. That is, it implies embodiment of those elements which impart form and content to fairness as a major requirement for collaboration and cooperation between countries. In such a context, respect for national independence and sovereignty by and for all is a guarantee that there will no longer be interference in relations among countries, that various forms of foreign aid to developing countries will no longer be made subject to specific conditions, and that the practices of transnational companies will no longer encroach upon or fail to take into account the rights of the countries in the territory of which they operate and will no longer rob them of their resources.

As President Nicolae Ceausescu has pointed out, basing himself upon the historical development of the Romanian people, which for a long time was under foreign domination and had to carry on prolonged struggle to gain its independence, Romania acts consistently on behalf of unfailing respect for the independence of every people, and the ideas that it advances in this connection are fully in keeping with its deeds. Our party and state have given and continue to give active support, material, diplomatic, and moral, to the struggle of peoples for national liberation, for gaining independence, and for unfettered exercise of political and economic sovereignty. The meetings and discussions between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and leaders of liberation movements or young independent countries are all occasions for reassertion of the Romanian position in these problems and for elevation of bilateral friendship and collaboration relations to new heights. The demand for respect for independence and national sovereignty occupies one of the most prominent places in the Romanian proposals, initiatives, and viewpoints expressed in international organizations, bodies, and meetings and in bilateral and multilateral documents signed by Romania. Mention should also be made of the aid extended by Romania, itself engaged in a heroic effort to reach new levels of progress, to many developing countries in their efforts to strengthen their national independence.

Socialist Romania is fully convinced that only if the independence of every nation is respected can mutually advantageous cooperation be accomplished, the economic and social progress of every people ensured, and peace secured. Any encroachment on the independence of a people, and such encroachments have been recorded throughout history, cannot fail to lead to new conflicts, for no people has ever accepted or will ever accept loss of independence and life under subjugation, since sooner or later it will rise up with all its might to defend its national rights. Thus for peace to exist it is necessary to ensure national independence. The problem of the independence of every nation and every country, even if it participates in various economic, political, or military cooperation organizations in

one form or another, continues to be one of the basic preoccupations of every country.

Since it firmly supports the demand for respect for national independence and sovereignty, Romania cannot imagine conducting a policy of isolation. On the contrary, our country favors broad cooperation with all countries of the world, understanding that this presupposes wide economic, scientific, and cultural collaboration with other nations.

To our party and state, to President Nicolae Ceausescu, exercise of independence and sovereignty by all countries is a major condition for direct and necessary participation in international life by all countries. It is a condition and requirement for democratization in a world context, resting upon the basis of understanding of the common obligation of contributing to the building of a better and fairer world, a world of equal rights and obligations for all countries and all peoples.

6115

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DEFICIENCIES IN WORKS ON MODERN HISTORY CITED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 25 Jun 84 pp 31-33

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Gh. Platon, Iasi Al. I. Cuza University: "Modern History of Romania as a Field Open to Useful Original Discussions"]

[Text] As Romanian society has progressed on the path of socialism in the last few decades and especially in the period following the Ninth RCP Congress, the field of historiography has made important advances as well. Based upon a noble tradition, as the directions taken by historians who lent great prestige to Romanian science were followed and consolidated, and benefiting by the broad scope of dialectical-materialist ideology and by an organizational structure in keeping with socialist principles, the science of history is an important element of the intellectual life of Romanian society. The value of its achievements can be judged today both by the number of historical researchers and especially by the breadth, diversity and scope of its interests, the magnitude and value of its scientific output, and the aims and effectiveness of education.

Naturally the modern history of Romania has played a highly important part in the general development of the field. Many historians have applied themselves to the century wherein the nation was formed, the national awareness was consolidated and the independent Romanian national state and later, in 1918, the united one were achieved. Their efforts resulted in a massive and valuable scientific output that clarified this eventful period and facilitated correct determination of the underlying forces basic to the events of Romanian history in the 19th century.

Without dwelling upon the many and lasting achievements, we intend to discuss here some of the problems the investigators of modern history have to solve in the continuous process of reconstruction and revaluation that will lead, in the broad outlook of our period, to the synthesis of that century wherein the historical processes critical to the Romanian people's destinies were determined and effected.

First we feel it necessary to further clarify some questions of content and methodology. The modernization that our times also demand of historical research and science is not the ephemeral manifestation of a mere trend, nor merely a

matter of modifying the picture by adding information. Revaluation means viewing the entire material through lenses compatible with the evolved outlook of our time. The new methods of investigation, the interdisciplinary approach, and the tendency to write a total, unified history according to Nicolae Ceausescu's directions and to analyze the events over long periods in which they developed and upon which they acted have broadened the horizon of knowledge and lent the historical processes and events new forms and dimensions.

The more we meditate upon the main processes and events of modern history, the more convinced we become that the present division into periods, notwithstanding the flexibility provided by the period concept, no longer meets the requirements of a comprehensive, in-depth investigation. The number of those noting the conventional nature of the two limiting dates (1821 and 1918) is increasing. (1) Some suggest setting the beginning of this period earlier, while others advocate extending it to 1944, leading us to believe that a thorough discussion of the criteria for periodizing Romanian history would be welcome. Differentiated treatment of the complex problems of the 18th century, correlation of the radical changes made in the structure and superstructure of society (2), comprehension, in all its complexity, of the process of integration of the Romanian lands in the European economy, politics and intellectual life and the particular forms taken by the corresponding interdependences (3), and the new horizon opened up by the panorama of Romanian society in Transylvania presented by D. Prodan in his monumental "Horea's Uprising," all these call for some reexaminations and new judgments.

For example, we do not think the important events in the course of which the material and mental unity of the Romanian provinces was consolidated, the nation was defined and the national awareness was developed, seen as a continuation on a higher level of the course that was set in the 17th century, can be included in the medieval period. The need of a reappraisal in accordance with the present outlook of historical research is becoming apparent more and more frequently. Of course the current scientific conventions can be maintained as long as they do not interfere with the overall view and can be supported on certain didactic-methodological grounds especially. Unfortunately, however, those conventions are not readily intelligible to the mass of laymen who come in contact with the problems of modern history through the dissemination of historical knowledge.

I think some of the opinions in the Romanian technical literature about the events in national history and the periodizing we are suggesting sometimes lead to a certain isolation of those events from the European context and from the world context in general. Without offering solutions and speaking solely of the beginnings of modern history, we think a division into periods must be sought that will no longer convey the impression that Romanian history developed in the shadow or in the wake of world history. Although there is no synchronism in the material development, the essential events that characterize the great stages of world history are present in Romanian history in a unique form. Their determination through intensive comparative studies, as well as the special emphasis that should be placed upon the complex problems of the 18th century, would be of considerable importance in our opinion in developing an integrating view of the events of national and universal history.

In close connection with the foregoing problem we feel the need of further discussion of the close relationship between the internal and external factors,

whose interdependence always occasions and determines the historical processes and events. And as we shall see, this relationship is not being emphasized for purely methodological reasons.

The party documents and the party secretary general have repeatedly pointed out the need of consistent efforts toward correct and complete integration of the Romanian people's history in the general process of world historical development and especially that of Europe in order to bring out the Romanian people's place in and contribution to the history and culture of human civilization.

We know the internal factor plays a primary role in the historical process. But it can be consistently noted, to be sure, without ignoring or detracting from the external factor. Unfortunately various textbooks and manuals as well as explanatory or popularizing works sometimes present the international situation in a chapter solely meant to describe the general context and the Romania facts and not always fully integrated with the text. We think the viewpoint from which history is to be studied today calls for reconsideration of this kind of presentation. Evaluation of Romanian history as an integral part of world history and integration of the national historical phenomenon in the general context are primary requirements of modern methodology, and overall analysis of the events or phenomena on the regional or continental level can always reveal aspects that can lend new dimensions and directions to Romanian history.

To be sure analysis of historical facts from this standpoint is no innovation, but it must be done more consistently. In order to bring out the influence of the external factor, perhaps we should dwell further on the consequences of Romania's geographic location in Europe. The Romanian people's native land was a meeting ground of many other civilizations and later a road traveled in all directions by the migrant populations. The effects of this upon the Romanian people's material and cultural development are well known. The Romanians' receptiveness to the world, their universal bent, the continuation of Byzantine traditions, and their position as the "shield of Christendom" can be understood only through careful study of their beginnings, when the inhabitants of these lands came in contact with other civilizations, fashioning their ethnic-cultural and state personality in an environment generated by these great and prolonged troubles.

When the world was stabilized and powerful states were formed on the Romanian borders, the Romanians' history was considerably affected by the feudal states' expansionist drive toward the Black Sea and mastery of the mouths of the Danube or the European center. Once again the Romanians' land became a corridor connecting the civilizations of the East and West. The economic, cultural and political consequences of this situation are far too familiar to discuss here. It is sufficient to note that at no point in the Middle Ages were the Romanians outside the area of civilization's development. Culturally and politically especially they were always within the area of the contemporary world's troubles and sometimes in the center of them, with all the many consequences of that situation.

Their position in this area of confrontations affected the internal development of the three Romanian lands and gave rise to internal disturbances that were often maintained from outside. The conflict between the central power and the nobles took on a tragic character because of the difficult political circumstances.

The Romanians had to allow for the various shifts in the balance of power and make their political decisions and alliances between the threat of Islam and that of the Christian states, whose effects and tendencies were sometimes more dangerous. The internal political troubles, which often ended tragically and had their effect upon Romanian history, cannot be studied or understood apart from the international political environment wherein Romanian history evolved.

During the modern period the contacts with the European world were multiplied and diversified, the interdependences became closer, the effects upon Romania's historical destiny became more pronounced, and the consequences became broader, deeper and more lasting.

Despite the material difficulties and social relations based upon ruthless fiscal and class exploitation, the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries were a period of successive innovations. The Phanariot regime in the principalities and the Habsburg one in Transylvania were not closed to the outside world. They regularly permitted multiplication of contacts with it. In addition to cultural contacts and political influences in the complex context of the Eastern Problem, there was a gradual integration in a capitalist economic cycle that was beginning to dominate the continent.

Against this complicated background, troubled by wars, invasions, military occupations, and radical economic and social changes, the Romanian nation took form and emphatically asserted its political awareness and need of unity on the basis of a long accumulation.

This is an impressive process that cannot be evaluated in its extent and consequences by considering the internal factor alone. And of course it is essential for Romanian history to be regularly studied in its natural interdependences with world history in order to view the phenomena in their true proportions. It is not just a methodological requirement but a *sine qua non* for an accurate interpretation of the direction of history's development in accordance with the viewpoint prescribed by our times and by the tasks confronting Romanian historical science.

Romanian history cannot and should not be separated from the international context and the interdependences wherein it evolves. As an example of this I could cite M. T. Radu's one-sided efforts to prove that the 1821 Revolution had no connections with the Hetairia (in his book "Tudor Vladimirescu and the Revolution in Wallachia," Scrisul Romanesc Publishing House, Craiova, 1978). We do not consider it very important to demonstrate the Romanians' affiliation or nonaffiliation with the Hetairia. What must not be overlooked (And even A. Otetea did not overlook it, with all the criticisms that can be made of his two monographs on the 1821 Revolution) is the necessity of placing the Romanian revolutionary phenomenon in the general international context wherein it evolved and in the light of which it can be explained in its entirety. In my opinion the above-mentioned book, which has a marked polemic tone, overlooks the historical continuity and the natural process of the Romanian lands' integration in the European cycle.

The statements that the Danube was "the center of gravity of the world" (4), the principalities were the "Gordian knot of the Eastern Problem" (5), and the

Prut was "the Rubicon of contemporary history" (6) are not mere figures of speech but terms defining the importance of the Romanian area in international relations with all the internal consequences and effects of continental politics in the first half of the 19th century.

The decision-makers of the Romanian national struggle also had to allow for the political context wherein the national struggle was involved and developed in order to gradually form the Romanians' national policies. The troubles in 1858 are as significant as possible in the sense of those noted above. The leading forces in Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia were serving the same aspirations to a national community and acting in accordance with the various possibilities existing in each of the three Romanian provinces. The political experience in 1848 benefited the stage in 1859, when the modern Romanian national state was formed under different international conditions. Al. I. Cuza's reforming work proves to us how close the dialectical relationship was between the internal and external because, as a reflection of the legal system of the collective guarantee (significant in itself in the sense we have in mind), any internal action entailed external reactions because it affected the many "interests" held by powers in the principalities, and the prince of the Unification, who often resorted to the policy of the *fait accompli*, had to employ a whole arsenal of political procedures and display particular flexibility and tireless patience and caution in order to attain his goal.

The whole history of the period following the war for Romania's complete independence as a state also proves to us how close the connection was between the internal and international developments. The intensive growth of capitalism in an international context dominated by the struggle among the great powers to acquire markets, invest capital and exercise political influence or domination had profound effects upon the direction and rate of development of Romania's economy and upon its foreign policy, making it necessary to adopt certain political tactics and strategy in order to carry out the national program.

Accordingly in the modern period, when the evolution of capitalism made Europe and the world arenas of a development that was not uniform but took the same direction in the context of increasingly pronounced and complex economic, political and cultural interdependences, Romanian history viewed in the aspects that defined it and determined its personality can be accurately interpreted only in the general context in which it evolved and was personalized. Of course it is not a question of a new methodological approach, but of finding the right proportioning in evaluating the dialectical relationship between the two factors in accordance with the historical facts and our period's requirements and horizon of knowledge.

In connection with Romania's development at the close of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century, we should also like to call attention to another series of facts. A priority has naturally been placed on the peasant question and the workers and socialist movement in investigating the modern period in the last few decades, with noteworthy results as we know. But I do not think the research effort has always been in proportion. The other social classes or categories have not benefited by any such attention. For example the evolution of the bourgeoisie and of bourgeois liberalism has not been studied in keeping with the importance that I think it had in modern Romanian history. The direction of

the studies as well as the deserved contemporary disrepute of the two exploiting classes sometimes led in the past to inadequate evaluations, and this stage of modern Romanian history is lacking in interpretations presenting the values to the same extent as the defects or shortcomings.

Accordingly the picture of one of the most fertile periods in modern history and perhaps in Romania's historical evolution up to that time is sometimes presented in an extremely contradictory fashion. Analyzed from the standpoint of class relations, it appears as a period of social oppression wherein the struggle of the working class and the peasant uprisings forced the leading classes to make concessions according to the demands of the historical period. On the other hand the same leading classes, condemned for the limitations of domestic policy, built the structures of the modern state and promoted an economic policy and foreign relations serving the national interests in the effort to achieve the national ideals and especially complete unity. Then let us not forget that the period is presented as particularly rich intellectually, from the standpoint of cultural, scientific and artistic achievements. In the course of it the national genius was defined and its values promoted, being among the highest in the world in their originality and importance. We feel the main questions of a historical period wherein the modern state was consolidated (even as an instrument of class domination and strengthening of the bourgeois order, to be sure, but also as an instrument of modern construction and a factor for cohesion of unity and the national struggle) have been only partially clarified today.

Balanced surveys of the modern history of the Romanian people present researchers with the problem of remaining consistently on the ground of complete and comprehensive historical analysis. Consideration of only one aspect of the historical process, the social one especially, certainly cannot replace the view of the whole. In the broad view of the contemporary socialist realities, this total analysis we are advocating naturally calls for more profound studies of the structures of the bourgeoisie and the landowners, the origin and nature of the alliance between the two classes, and the content of the bourgeois-landowner regime. The beginnings of this have already been made. (7)

Precise definition of the terms should be followed by a balanced analysis of the aspects making up the process of historical development in the period we have been discussing, which cannot be reconstituted or understood by mechanically combining its components but only by forming an overall dialectical viewpoint. Such an analysis, based upon an examination not only within from outside but also outside from within, upon a sound appraisal of the relationship between the social and the national and between the political, theoretical principles and the internal possibilities of applying them in practice, and upon a clear determination of Romania's distinctive historical features, will be able to present, without dulling the critical militant spirit with which we judge the events, the true picture of the period wherein processes took place that were vital to Romania's historic destiny.

Revaluation of the historical facts in the light of modern dialectical-materialist methodology and the integrating approach required by social and scientific progress cannot be considered a mere standard of scientific investigation. It is a patriotic, civic duty as well. For today historiography builds its structures not in the closed space of the ivory tower but in open discussion, dialogue and confrontation always indispensable to lasting works with credibility and appeal.

FOOTNOTES

1. See on this subject G. D. Iscru, "Introduction to the Study of Modern Romanian History," Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1983, pp 12-13. See also Gh. I. Ionita, "Primary Views on the Need of New Periodizing of the Modern and Contemporary History of Romania," REVISTA DE ISTORIE Vol 29, 1976, No 3, pp 431-435. Stefan Pascu, "Succession of Social Systems on Romanian Territory Reflecting Development of the Productive Forces and Production Relations," STUDIA UNIVERSITATIS BABES-BOLYAI, HISTORIA, Vol XXVI, 1981, No 2.
2. For the general aspects of the problem cf. Gh. Platon, "Origin of the 1848 Romanian Revolution. An Introduction to the Modern History of Romania," Junimea Publishing House, Iasi, 1980.
3. In his correspondence with Chevalier De Gentz, Gr. Ghica, prince of Wallachia (1822-1828) stresses the fact that "The European powers form an inseparable family. No problem can be discussed in Europe without attracting more or less general attention." He was to make the same comment later in analyzing the powers' attitude toward the events in Latin America. On this new occasion he expressed concern about the future direction of English policy and its repercussions upon the principalities. In "Romania in International Relations 1699-1939," edited by L. Boicu, V. Cristian and Gh. Platon, Junimea Publishing House, Iasi, 1980, p 69.
4. Cf. "Acts and Documents Concerning the History of the Romanian Renaissance," Vol VIII, p 251. The judgment is inserted in the brochure "L'Empereur Napoleon et les Principautes Roumaines," published in Paris in the summer of 1858.
5. Ibid.
6. In August 1838 this comment was made for the first time by the French newspaper LA REFORME in connection with the political implications of the Tsarist Army's military occupation of the principalities. Cf. "The Revolutionary Year 1848 in the Romanian Principalities," Vol III, p 180.
7. See on this subject G. D. Iscru's interesting comments in "Introduction to the Modern History of Romania," p 60 et seq. and Gh. Platon, "Considerations on the Number and Structure of the Moldavian Nobility on the Eve of the 1848 Revolution," in the book "Population and Society. Studies in Historical Demography," Vol II, edited by Prof Stefan Pascu, Cluj-Napoca (xeroxed volume).

5186

CSO: 2700/235

SOLIDARITY WITH ALL PROGRESSIVE FORCES STRESSED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 May 84 p 6

[Article by Dumitru Tinu: "Fundamental Foreign Policy Objectives Promoted by Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu. 2. Active Solidarity With All Peoples of the World, With the Progressive Forces of Modern Times, a Distinct Feature of All International Activities of Socialist Romania"]

[Text] "As in the past, we are taking action to strengthen international solidarity with all revolutionary forces, with communist and worker parties, with socialist and social democratic parties, with national liberation forces, and with other democratic and anti-imperialist parties and forces, being fully convinced that strengthening the solidarity and unity of these forces is a requirement of decisive importance for the policy of peace and disarmament, for respect for the independence of every nation, and for the economic and social progress of all peoples" (Nicolae Ceausescu).

Peace, collaboration, understanding among nations, unvarying objectives of the vast international activities of socialist Romania discussed in the first article in the series devoted to summing up of the 4 decades that have elapsed since the historic act of 23 August, represent goals for the attainment of which socialist Romania, the Romanian people, is militating in close solidarity with all the progressive forces of the contemporary world. Concentrating the energies of the entire people on the fundamental objective of building a socialist and communist society, our party displays high responsibility for the fate of socialism and peace throughout the world, solidarity with the working class, all workers, and all peoples for freedom and social justice, and for democracy and progress, this representing a distinctive trait of all the international politics and activities of the Romanian Communist Party and of socialist Romania.

The live flame of solidarity acquired a powerful new brilliance during the period inaugurated by the 9th Congress, when Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu became head of the party and state. The secretary general of our party and state has rendered an exceptionally important service in revealing the new content of the concept of solidarity, on the basis of scientific dialectical materialist analysis of historical development, in giving a theoretical substantiation of the principles of unity, and at the same time in acting untiringly to see that these principles are consistently applied in practice.

The 1 May anniversary, a solemn day of brotherhood of workers everywhere, is for Romanian communists, for our entire people, a happy occasion for re-asserting militant solidarity with progressive forces in all regions

engaged in the struggle for the cause of liberty and justice, peace, and cooperation.

Strong, Firm Traditions

Especially rich and eloquent traditions bear witness that the idea of solidarity has guided the entire existence of the working class movement in Romania since its appearance on the scene of history. This is the idea recorded in golden letters on the battle standard of the revolutionary party of our working class which has inspired participation in countless solidarity actions, from presence on the barricades of the Paris Commune to demonstrations of support and warm sympathy for the participants in the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia in 1905. A remarkable page in the chronicle of international solidarity of the working class movement in Romania was written during the Great October Socialist Revolution, when many Romanian socialist militants participated directly, weapons in hand, both in execution of the revolution and in its defense against the interventionist forces.

Continuing these traditions, the Romanian Communist Party had from the very beginning of its creation to bring about organic combination of firm and consistent service to the fundamental interests of the workers, the Romanian people, with unswerving fidelity to the noble principle of international solidarity. Subjected to brutal repression by the bourgeois landowner regime, consigned to operation deep underground, our party organized broad international solidarity campaigns. Many Romanian communists are enshrined in the pantheon of the struggle against fascism, having volunteered to serve in the international brigades on the frontiers of Republican Spain and in the resistance movement in various countries of Europe, displaying their support for the progressive forces and the peoples engaged in the great battle for defense of national existence and achievement of liberty. It should be pointed out that the great antifascist and antiwar demonstrations of 1 May 1939, in the organization of which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu played a decisive role, was marked by international unity and solidarity. These actions evoke a wide international response because of the historic significance of the appeal by our party for creation of a wide front of all democratic forces to bar the path to fascism.

The Romanian communists militated against the antisoviet war with particular resoluteness. Despite the terror of the Antonescu regime, our party organized the resistance struggle, organized many daring actions to sabotage the fascist war machinery, at the cost of the supreme sacrifice of many militants, and was the organizer of the broad movement of all patriotic forces culminating in the victory of the social and national antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution. The ideas of solidarity with the peoples enslaved by hitlerism gave even greater inspiration to the Romanian militants, who after 23 August 1944, fighting side by side with the glorious Soviet Army, made great sacrifices on the fields of battle and beyond our borders, making a valuable contribution to the liberation of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, up to the final overthrow of fascism.

A New, Revolutionary View of the Solidarity Concept

The secretary general of our party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, deserves the credit for elaborating and crystallizing a new concept of international

solidarity, one fully in harmony with the basic principles of marxism, dialectical and historic materialism, based on organic combination of patriotism and internationalism. As exponents of the vital interests of the working class, called upon to serve unflinchingly, with loyalty and devotion, the people in the midst of which they originated, communists have the high mission of acting with all their strength to defend the fundamental interests of their own people and assure realization of its aspirations and ideals. It is also obvious that everything done by a communist party for the cause of revolution, any progress in building the new system, is of service not only to the respective people, but at the same time represents a success of progressive forces everywhere, a concrete contribution to their strengthening and promotion. The secretary general of our party has pointed out in this connection that "not only is there no contradiction between national and international interests; on the contrary, there is full dialectical unity."

This new view of solidarity is vividly illustrated in the entire policy of our party and state, a policy having the fundamental aim of ensuring all-round progress and prosperity of the country, continuing increase in the welfare of the people, while at the same time actively, firmly and consistently supporting promotion of the cause of peace, freedom, and progress of all peoples.

In defining this policy, our party and its secretary general, President Nicolae Ceausescu, proceed from the premise that the concept of international solidarity is not an abstract, general, and stereotyped formula, but rather has a concrete content and specific requirements, patterns, and forms of expression in each period of history. Thus in our days, when the tendency of new countries to set out on the path of socialism is increasing, when countries other than the socialist ones are taking the option of making structural social transformations, when a great diversity of innovative social movements is in evidence, when a number of progressive positions are finding their way into the programs of many political formations and parties, under these conditions the idea of solidarity has taken on a much broader content and significance.

Friendship, Collaboration, Unity of Action

In the foreign policy promoted by the Romanian Communist Party, of socialist Romania, a central role is thus held by strengthening of friendship and widening of multilateral cooperation with all socialist countries. Based on community of ideology and goals, continuing development of relations with all socialist countries has become a program policy. In the conception of our party, the socialist countries have the historic mission of providing a practical example of relationships of a superior type, based on full equality of rights and mutual respect. The existence of differences of views, forms, and methods of action, deriving from the specific conditions themselves in which they are building the new system, including differences in interpretation of phenomena or problems of international life, should not affect the relations of collaboration among the socialist countries. The concrete experience of Romania itself provides effective, practical, and exemplary confirmation of this truth. Our party believes that what unites the socialist countries is fundamental and should always prevail, that overcoming of misunderstandings and strengthening of unity can

and should be accomplished by friendly discussions conducted in a spirit of mutual respect.

Romanian communists have constantly displayed, and continue to display, solidarity with the struggle of the workers of capitalist countries for defense of the right to work and for democratic freedoms.

As is known, the Romanian Communist Party acts untiringly to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with all communist and worker parties, with which it maintains good relations, placing them on the foundation of the principles of autonomy and equality of rights, nonintervention in internal affairs in any form whatever, and respect for the right of each party to elaborate its revolutionary strategy and tactics independently, in keeping with the specific conditions in which it operates. Militating tirelessly for establishment of new standards in relations among all communist and worker parties, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu constantly stresses that the establishment of relationships of trust and achievement of a new and qualitatively higher solidarity and unity in the international communist movement depend on strict respect for these principles.

At the same time, it should be pointed out that the secretary general of our party, in promoting a broad view of solidarity in keeping with which solidarity should overcome outmoded limitations and be extended to all detachments of the working class, has steadfastly charted a course toward development of relations with all worker parties and with all the progressive forces of mankind.

Hence it is a significant fact that at the present time the Romanian Communist Party maintains cooperative relations with more than 200 parties, communist and worker, socialist and social democratic, governing parties of developing countries, national liberation movements, and other democratic, anti-imperialist forces.

Similarly, the Front of Democracy and Socialist Unity, the Grand National Assembly, and mass and public organizations in Romania maintain relations with about 1750 political formations, legislative organs, trade unions, professional and creative associations, women's, youth, and child organizations, peace movements, and similar associations and organizations on all continents.

Countless deeds bear witness to the militant solidarity of our party and socialist Romania with the great cause of liberation of peoples, which in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has found a tireless and fiery advocate. The all-round assistance, material, moral, political, and diplomatic, accorded the liberation movements in the struggle for conquest of the right to independent development has found natural continuation in the relations of close cooperation and solidarity which Romania is developing with the new independent countries, with all developing countries. A contribution of the greatest importance in this context has been made by the visits made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, on historic trips in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The documents and agreements signed create a broad political, diplomatic, and legal framework for extension of cooperation with these countries.

Proceeding from the fundamental truth that socialism and peace are inseparable, our party and the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, hold that international solidarity does and should organically include solidarity with the broad peace movements in progress with unprecedented intensity over the entire planet. Considering itself to be an integral part of these movements, which it has joined with all its strength, the Romanian people, socialist Romania, actively demonstrates support and solidarity with the struggle of peoples everywhere to halt the arms race and eliminate the nuclear danger.

The Romanian people are participating in this May Day celebration as well under the banner of international solidarity. In all its international activities the Romanian Communist Party is motivated by the firm conviction that under the especially grave international conditions of the present day there is more need than ever for mobilization of the broadest forces of the peoples and achievement of the closest possible cooperation with them and of unity of the working class, communist parties, and all progressive, democratic forces, for the sake of safeguarding peace and building a better and fairer world. And our party, in the spirit of its rich internationalist traditions, as has been emphasized by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, is firmly resolved to make the greatest contribution it can, along with all progressive forces in the contemporary world, for the triumph of these noble ideals of humanity.

6115

CSO: 2700/220

PROBLEMS IN BUILDING ORTHODOX CHURCH IN ZAGREB

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 84 p 12

[Article by Jovan, Metropolitan of Zagreb-Ljubljana, President of Eparchy Administrative Committee of Orthodox Eparchy: "More on Religious Buildings in Zagreb"]

[Text] In the journal SVET No 52, 18 April 1984, the journalist Jadranka Miric provided information on requests and the assignment of a location for the construction of a place of worship for the church and religious communities in Zagreb, among other things. According to her, after work had started on the construction of the great Islamic Center, the Catholic parish priest also immediately requested (and obtained) permission for building a church. However, she goes on to say, "the Orthodox bishop has still not come up with a similar request." We do not know why the journalist Jadranka Miric compares the request of our Serbian Orthodox Church (that of the bishop) with the requests of the other interested religious communities in the Zabret Opcina, as if it were a matter of some sort of competition, prestige, or reciprocity. If she had sought the necessary information her report at the authorized organs of the Opcina, or at the Eparchy Administrative Committee [EAC] of the Orthodox Eparchy of Zagreb-Ljubljana--if she has indeed wanted to avoid our Orthodox parish and the Church Opstina in Zabreg--she could have found out the following:

At the summons of the City Planning Bureau of the City of Zagreb--No 01-494/3, 24 July 1970--the administration of the Serbian Orthodox Church Opstina of Zagreb sent a communication--No 33, 26 July 1970--to the bureau in which it made a request for the assignment of a location for the construction of an appropriate place of worship. This was made in accordance with the "Plan for the Network of Religious Buildings" of the City Planning Bureau of Zagreb, and referred specifically to the area of the Pescenica Opcina. Considering the large number of our parishioners in the area of Zagreb-East, a location was requested anywhere on the lands of Zitnjak-Vukomerec.

The EAC of the Orthodox Eparchy of Zagreb, in communication No 1, 3 January 1979, appealed to the Commission for Relations with Religious Communities of the Executive Council of the Zagreb City Assembly, with the request for a place of worship in the new Zagreb settlements of the Pescenica Opcina (Kozari Bok, Kozari Put) where over 2,000 orthodox families live. Because

of the growing pastoral needs the approval of the Holy Synod of Bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church had also been obtained in March 1978 for the founding of the 4th Orthodox Parish of Zagreb in the area of the Pescenica Opcina. All of these requests cited have been repeated many times orally by the authorized bishop in meetings with authorized organs of the city and the republic.

There are still other inaccurate and superficial items of information in Jadranka Miric's article. Thus she writes that similar problems involving the construction of churches do not exist in Slovenija, because, allegedly, during the war there was no destruction of churches there. If she had requested the necessary information about this from republic organs or the EAC of the Orthodox Eparchy of Zagreb-Ljubljana, she could have found out that right after the occupation began in 1941, the monumental Orthodox churches in Celje and Maribor were razed to the ground by order of the German Nazis. Similarly, our chapel in Rogaska Slatina was devastated; after the war, it was turned into an industrial shop, and soon after was destroyed so that a new hotel could be built. Therefore, the problem of a place of worship in the parishes mentioned and in the branch churches still remains unsolved for the church. There are more things in Miric's article which call for critical review, but in this case it would go beyond the scope of this letter. Thus, for example, we cannot agree with simplified and ambiguous claims like "the ambitions of the religious communities keep growing," or the one about "the architectural wonder of the world in Novi Zagreb." Apart from this, it is well and good that the general public (the readers of SVET) becomes aware of the fact, for example, that "it is most difficult to get permission (for the construction of church buildings) in Serbia and Montenegro," or that while planning new settlements in Croatia they are "also providing for places of worship."

We learn from Miric's article that the procedure for obtaining building permits for religious buildings is "the same as for any other building, a school, for example, except that the political approval of the authorized opstina is also required for religious buildings." It is true, as Miric claims, "that they are usually accomodated, but there are also cases of rejection from the social-political organs."

In the conclusion of her extensive report, journalist Jadranka Miric sees that the problem really lies in the fact that "religious buildings are not provided for in urban plans." However, this is only a part of the problem. The other part of the problem, which also often unnecessarily burdens relations, lies in the fact that locations for religious needs already provided for in urban plans are not put into use, because their use is delayed for a long time pending decisions and permits.

9548
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ORTHODOX PRESS ON CONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 84 pp 11-12

[Article by Milan D. Miletic: "Upsetting Numbers"]

[Text] There are certain numbers that resemble landmarks to which one must look, as a lost traveler looks to the stars.

It happens that there are some numbers from several publications on my desk, and when I studied them together they began to tell a story more moving than either a written drama or a book on history.

I have to start with those from the past, especially those from the Second World War. On the territory of what was then Yugoslavia, over half the population was Orthodox--8.5 million people. Of these, 1,200,000 died during the war! Among them, approximately 700 members of the clergy of the Serbian Orthodox Church were killed, or over one-quarter. Approximately 400 of them were put in camps and prisons, about 200 died by natural causes, and only about one-quarter carried out their normal duties in their own towns. Of the total number of bishops--21 of all--5 were killed, 2 were interned and died during internment, 2 died of torture, 2 were driven from their eparchies in Serbia, and Patriarch Gavrillo endured a fate which no church leader had ever experienced--he was taken prisoner, mistreated, taken into internment, that is, into a concentration camp, and only after the war was he returned to govern the church from his throne. However, the Serbian Church also suffered other casualties, those of a material and irreparable nature.

A quarter of the monasteries and churches were completely destroyed, and almost half of the total number were more or less plundered and damaged. In just one unfortunate eparchy of the Independent State of Croatia (in Gornjokarlovacka), out of 189 churches--the total number at the beginning of the war--175 were destroyed and burned down (in some places with Orthodox followers still in the church).

The damage caused to the church by the war amounted to approximately 7 billion prewar gold dinars (see GLASNIK of the Serbian Orthodox Church No 1-3, 1951, p 10).

However, there are more recent numbers, which, 40 years after the war, were found in the journal POLITIKIN SVET No 52, 18 April 1984, p 17 in an article

entitled "Dzamiya for Belgrade." here they talk about the primarily material evolution of the larger religious communities in Yugoslavia; none of these communities one might say, suffered the damage during the war that the Serbian Orthodox Church did. Thus, between the end of the war and the present, 700 Islamic places of worship have been constructed in Yugoslavia, 500 Roman Catholic, and a total of 220 Orthodox. Financiers from the Islamic world helped in the construction of the Islamic religious structures, and the Roman Catholic Churches were aided by those from their religion elsewhere, in other words, primarily from the Vatican and other separate international centers. It goes without saying that no one sent help to the Serbian Orthodox Church except for its congregation. Because of this help, an abundance of Islamic churches and schools have appeared, as well as Roman Catholic buildings, spreading the principle of "a church on every hill."

During the last 10 years alone, the Islamic community has constructed and completed its faculty and the women's section of the medresa (Moslem secondary school) in Sarajevo, and the largest dzamiya in the country in Tutin; it is building schools in Pristina and Skopje, and the representative building of the vakuf (community center) has been completed in Novi Pazar. The white dzamiya in Visoko has received the Aga Khan prize for architectural design. Nis, Skopje, Vranje, and Bor are places in which procedures have been undertaken to build new dzamijas, and in Belgrade the old dzamiya is the subject of demands from the Islamic community. It must be expanded from 100 to 1,900 seats which would enable it to overshadow the Kalemegdan [park in Belgrade] by the magical originality of the Orient and an authenticity greater than any "Western" or Orthodox structure with regard to its characteristics. However, this still does not indicate the force of this inundation of Islamic mosques. Here are some more facts. Between the war and the present time in Serbia (in which the population has been predominately Orthodox), the Islamic community has built 120 new religious structures. In Zagreb, where 30,000 Moslems live, they are building a monumental dzamiya, because it is also the desire of this religious community for every mahala (city district) to have a dzamiya. And the forces directed at this goal are sincere. And the goals are attainable for them.

The Roman Catholic Church has built 500 new postwar churches, mostly in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also in Slovenia, Vojvodina, and Kosovo. The prominent cathedral in Titograd, the church in Novi Zabreb (a settlement smaller than Novi Belgrade), and those in Osijek, Mostar, and Split are perhaps only the beginning of this initiative behind which the fraternal religious community is putting so much force.

The Serbian Orthodox Church has been able to build, and has built much--much less. Up to 1971, in the SFRY (in the entire area of which can be seen even today ruins, remains, and empty churchyards after the destruction of Orthodox holy objects) a total of 415 parish centers and monastic shelters have been built and 573 have been renovated, and 64 monastic shelters and 220 churches have been reconstructed. In the Socialist Republic of Serbia, approximately 30 churches have been built and about 60 have been renovated during the last 12 years. These are really small numbers. And how could the

numbers be any larger keeping in mind that the church has been so impoverished and that there is no help coming from foreign friends? The churches are not even "provided for in urban plans!" Even now, the church requests permission in vain for the construction of the Church of Saint Sava in Belgrade, in which the church and our parents invested their contributions before the war, and which now has begun to be commemorated as ruins. There is both a legal and a moral obligation, at least, to the millions who invested their money to make this a church and not a museum, as is desired by the authorities, according to the article cited. Also being sought in vain is the construction of the Church of Saint Sava, in Split.

All in all, the picture described in the "entrefilet" of the article cited is apparent looking at the upsetting numbers which reveal the state of the churches in Yugoslavia.

In Serbia alone, the Islamic community has 486 dzamijas, 106 mesdzids (small place of worship), 32 public accommodations-mehtebs (religious elementary school), and 67 turbets (mausoleums). And in Yugoslavia it has more than 1,600 professional employees and approximately 3,000 dzamijas and mesdzids, 1 theological faculty, 2 religious secondary schools (medresa), and one more nearing the end of construction in Skopje.

The Roman Catholic Church has 182 monasteries and 416 convents, 2,702 parishes, 1,416 monks, 6,587 nuns, and 4,121 priests. It owns 2 theological faculties, 7 colleges and 19 secondary schools for priests. Publishing activities are not even mentioned in the article, but in any case they are enormous, in proportion to the great resources of this world church.

The Serbian Orthodox Church has approximately 180 monasteries (male and female), and a total of 2,500 priests, 1 theological college, and 4 religious secondary schools.

And that's it.

And nothing more. These numbers say a great deal. They would say much more if one added to them the number of other destroyed Orthodox churches which remain unrestored, the amount of property which remains unreturned, the number of requests for construction permits which have been refused, and the number of requests not even submitted "because they have not been provided for in the urban plan." And the numbers would tell an even more complete story if a list were compiled of those who, as friends in this "era of ecumenism" were morally responsible, or those who were also materially responsible, to compensate for the damages to our church, and to aid in our efforts. Then the numbers would move the conscience of everyone.

9548

CSO: 2800/381

OPSTINA SAID TO OVERCOME DIVISIVE ACTIONS OF PAVLE GAZI

[Editorial Report] An article by Kreso Speletic in the 24 July 1984 issue of the Zagreb weekly DANAS (page 44) reports without detailed comment that the leadership of Koprivnica Opstina in Croatia and the Podravka SOUR (composite organization of associated labor) have now overcome the "divisive actions of Pavle Gazi, have again reached a level of unity, and have helped to bring an end to the Gazi intrigues." It said that in the last 4 months the LC opstina committee on the ideological-political situation and the above enterprise had taken an important step toward "changing the atmosphere which had been burdened up to now by intrigues, accusations, chicanery, slandering and manipulation of people. This especially pertains to the Podravka SOUR where 7,500 people are employed and where such an atmosphere created deep divisions in business and interpersonal relations."

It said that mutual distrust and division had been sown among the sociopolitical leadership of the opstina by the actions and manipulations of Pavle Gazi and his followers. "The differentiation which is now beginning in the basic LC organizations in the opstina and in Podravka...will certainly be an important stabilizing factor."

In regard to Podravka, it said that this enterprise "had destroyed the 'myth about Gazi' and was beginning to overcome the enterprise's 'encapsulation.'" This has not been an easy process because the intrigues and manipulation of people were deeply rooted and had undermined mutual trust between people, in self-management relations, in the business policy, and the strength of the LC. It said that the LC had to overcome the view that, however important Podravka was to the opstina, it was not the 'alpha and omega,' or the starting-point for everyone, i.e., the center for all personnel questions within and even outside the opstina, despite the fact that the enterprise had a very good professional potential. Its production has increased again after a period of unsatisfactory growth, the article said, it has developed a more flexible business policy with new directions, and discussions are underway regarding cooperation and income linkages with areas in other opstinas and abroad.

"Thus," the article concluded, "a new more favorable climate has been created in which all the cards are laid on the table.... While this process will not be rapid or simple, all agree it is...the only one possible.... After a 2-year period this is an important step forward."

PETITION WRITING PHENOMENON EXAMINED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jun 84 p 5

[Article by Branko Vlahovic: "Who Writes Petitions?"]

[Text] Mainly nationalists and anarchist liberals have been identified among the hundreds of signers of various petitions, but unfortunately they also include old revolutionaries and members of the League of Communists. There are no workers, engineers, or technicians. Much trouble is taken to have these petitions published in the foreign press and in the **periodicals of hostile** emigre groups. This is sufficient proof of the origin and targets of the petitioners.

Only a week after the daily newspapers published reports on the conference held in Zagreb on 23 May on the ideological struggle in the field of culture, the most recent petition was received in the editorial offices of VJESNIK and probably the editorial offices of other large periodicals. This fact alone indicates the speed of reaction and degree of organization of the persons who draw up petitions and collect signatures through their channels and connections.

This petition reflects the reaction to the conference and to the analysis which provided the basis for discussion. The majority of the persons signing the "Open Letter to the Public," as they called their petition, are in effect the ones whose names, that is their writing, are referred to in the analysis concerned. These names are well known to our public; they are the same people who have signed the majority of other petitions. The signatures include the already well-known names of the petitioners styling themselves "fighters for freedom of creativity," such as the writers Dobrica Cosic and Antonije Isakovic, the signer Gojko Djogo who has become the well known and "famous" in such scandalous fashion, the author of "The Knife," Vuk Draskovic, a group of former professors of the Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy, and certain other persons whose books have been the subject of much critical argumentation over the last 2 years or so.

The reason we have given only these names and not those of all signers of the petition is not that the other names are unknown to the public. Moreover, this open letter was signed even by persons who until a few months ago were vigorously arguing with each other but now are suddenly on the same wavelength. It

should also be pointed out that the "Open Letter to the Public" was also signed by some cultural workers who had not previously signed petitions, as well as by persons whose names mean nothing to the public at large.

The occasion for the writing of this text is not mentioned by the "Open Letter," since as we have said, it was signed by the majority of those persons whose names are cited in the analysis prepared for the conference organized by the commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia on ideological matter and information. Since the aim of the analysis, as was stated at the conference, was also to corroborate the impact of petty bourgeois furor in the sphere of culture, a furor disguised as struggle for human freedoms in general and freedom of culture and art in particular, it was to be expected that the petitioners would react quickly. Consequently, they tried in their "open letter" to denigrate the conference, thereby defending themselves and representing themselves again in their manner as the sole champions of freedom of thought.

Who Writes and Signs

In this article we will try to answer what we think to be interesting questions: Who are the people who write and sign petitions, what is the real purpose of the petitions, how many of those signing petitions are members of the League of Communists, etc.

When petitions made their first appearance among us, we did not investigate them and so do not know how many of them there were in the past. One thing is known with absolute certainty: the petitioners shifted to the offensive in 1980. They were especially active during Tito's illness and after his death.

Analysis of these conclusions reveals that the ideological fathers of the petitions and the majority of the signers are in our three major university centers, Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana. The majority of the petitions have originated in Belgrade, but some were generated in Zagreb and Ljubljana. Another characteristic is that a very small number of petition signers, one might almost say none at all, live and work in Macedonia, Montenegro, and Kosovo. The petitions are generated in the narrow circle of so-called anarchist liberals whose names are already known, and it is interesting to note that among the signers are the names of confirmed nationalists, and at the same time these lists include the names of persons who consider themselves to be the only "true communists"; that is, a group of people of the so-called New Left is involved.

It is by no means easy to explain how people holding essentially different political views, such as nationalists and leftists, can join together in signing petitions. In our opinion the anarchist liberals, nationalist, PRAXISites, and ultraleftists band together because at the moment they have one common desire, that is, to denigrate the League of Communists and our system, and the fact that they probably do not agree with each other on many questions is currently of no importance.

Our statement is confirmed, among other things, by the fact, for example, that among the signatures to petitions asking for "greater political freedom" are the names of proven Croatian and Serbian nationalists. But when petitions were written asking for release of certain nationalists from prison, there was no unity: the petitions were signed only by nationalists of the nation members of which were held in prison.

Respect for Professors

We have already noted that the majority of the petitions are always signed by hundreds of the same people. For example, in the petitions which talk about political freedoms or about persons who have come into conflict with the law because of their activities, it is absolutely certain that most often the name of Dobrica Cosic, Antonije Isakovic, those of a group of former professors of the Belgrade Philosophical Faculty, and a few others will be present.

Analysis of the petitions written since 1980 shows also that a certain percentage of the signers are students. Most of them are from the philosophical faculties of the universities of Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana. It is typical that the young petitioners are recruited in the areas of sociology and philosophy. The explanation for this is easy to find: the influence of the professors in these departments, some of whom have proven to be harsh critics of everything that exists in this society.

This influence of professors who have recently clashed with the League of Communists is felt especially among the younger students, those in the first years of study, when the students hold the professors in the highest esteem. It is well known that students, especially freshmen, have almost religious awe and respect for their professors. It is this professorial mystique that induces students to sign petitions when they see that they have already been signed by the professors or his assistant. Young people of this age are very sensitive to everything that stands out against what is prescribed by society, and the professors are skilled in exploiting and manipulating this sensitivity. How otherwise can we explain the fact that the signers of petitions are made up in the majority of freshmen and permanent students but of a much smaller number of juniors and seniors? It is also an interesting fact that students and professors in the natural science faculties very rarely sign their names to petitions.

The most frequently encountered names of Zagreb petitioners are those of Zarko Puhovski, instructor at the Philosophy Faculty in Zagreb, Nadezda Cacinovic-Puhovska, Lina Veljak, Dura Susnjic, and others. Professors of the so-called PRAXIS Group regularly sign petitions which speak of so-called human rights and freedoms.

Subtle Pressures

In the lists of petitioners in which the occupations are also given it is almost impossible to find the name of a person who works directly in production: a worker, engineer, or technician. When such a person is found, he turns out to be more or less closely related to one of the instigators of the petition.

It can also easily be seen that the petitions are signed in family circles. It should also be said that, especially when it is a question of persons who are well known in cultural and scientific circles, they use the method of subtle pressure--they call on the telephone and tell the names of all who have signed. Consequently, there may be untruths in this political publicity campaign. But once a signature have been extracted, it is difficult to have it deleted. To be truthful it must also be said that a part of the acknowledged and esteemed cultural and scientific figures sign petitions to demonstrate their love of freedom. Readers are confused when they read that a petition has been signed by an old and proven revolutionary. A respected Yugoslav revolutionary recently tried to explain in a weekly publication why he signed a petition even though he is not and has not previously been in agreement with the positions, political ones of course, of some of the persons who instigate the signing of the particular petition. As regards the old revolutionaries who now sign various petitions, they are persons who have become much more critical following their retirement from active work. Surely they themselves are the ones best able to explain their disenchantment.

One thing is certain, that this retired revolutionary disenchantment of people living in very comfortable, one might say above average, circumstances, is especially confusing to young people. We are justified in asking how it is that people who have even shed their blood to create what we have today are more critical of their achievement (always granting amnesty to themselves) than the persons on the other side of the barricade have been. What is the reason for the present alliance with people who until yesterday were bitter enemies and angry critics?

Methods of Compulsion

All sorts of methods are used by the organizers of petitions, as is shown by the case in which a signature was extracted in Zagreb from an elderly signer who at the time was seriously ill. His signature was extracted and he was not told the real truth about what was involved. This certainly shows the extreme lengths to which the petitioners will go. Analysis of petitions also shows that many signers do not have the least faithfulness to principles in their political attitudes. For example, in August 1983 a petition was submitted to the presidents of Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina protesting the trial of Moslem nationalists in Sarajevo. And we see just what black humor this is, when below the text containing among other things the statement "we most emphatically protest the recent trial of a group of citizens in Sarajevo who have been publicly branded as Moslem nationalists," we find the signature of Vojislav Seselj, who in his writings has shown how much he cares about equality of rights.

We remind our readers that this group of Moslem nationalists was tried because it was working to realize its ideas of an ethnically pure Bosnia and Kosovo. Here this group is defended by Vojislav Seselj who sign this petition and at the same time advocates abolition of some of our republics, among them Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this glowing twilight of nationalist ideas a normal person truly cannot find his way. It is interesting that this petition was also

signed by Ljubomir Tadic, former professor at the Belgrade faculty of philosophy, who for years has been warring against the leaders of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The petition was also signed by all the former professors and assistants of the faculty of philosophy in Belgrade who have come into conflict with the League of Communists. The list of course inevitably includes the PRAXISites of Zagreb.

That there is a difference in petitioners when a concrete problem is involved is also confirmed by the petition submitted in October 1981 to the presidents of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Kosovo. A group of students in Zagreb launched this petition, which recommends the organization of an initiative for review of legal policy in Kosovo. It is an interesting fact to consider that this petition was signed by many people who are geographically remote from Kosovo. These petitioners are not the only ones.

Petition Subscribers

This petition is also excellent evidence of how the petitioners fight for certain abstract rights, but are hardly interested in their effect and truth. If someone joins in to disrupt order, this is not essential to them; what is important is that they display broad-mindedness and defend a person who has to go to prison. Can a person defend, in the name of democratic spirit, someone who gathers explosives and weapons in order to achieve his questionable aims?

The lists of petitioners also contain almost regularly the names of persons who have been imprisoned for their political activities. The daily newspapers recently (15 June) published a report stating among other things that Milan Nikolic, sociologist of Zemun, Vlado Mijanovic, an undergraduate student living in Novi Beograd, and Pavlusko Imsirevic, also an undergraduate student living in Belgrade were under temporary detention. An investigation has been initiated against them for perpetrating the criminal act of association for the purpose of engaging in hostile activities.

Whoever has read the book "Stvarno i moguće" [The Real and the Possible] by Dobrica Cosic will probably remember that in the writing entitled "Procesi, presude i naivna pitanja" [Trials, Verdicts, and Naive Questions] he tries to justify Mijanovic's "Vlada revolucija" [Reign of Revolutions]. The Belgrade District Court had condemned Mijanovic to a year's imprisonment at hard labor. In the same writing Cosic bemoans the fate of Milan Nikolic and Pavlusko Imsirevic, who had been arrested in January 1972. The members of the Belgrade District Court sentenced them--they were student at the time--to 2 years imprisonment each. Their names are to be found on almost all petitions.

Readers probably remember the name of Belgrade journalist Dragomir Olujic, in whose apartment a meeting of the group including Milovan Djilas was held. This same Dragomir Olujic also subscribes to all petitions.

Although we do not have precise statistical data, it is certain that there are a fairly great number of members of the League of Communists among the petitioners. Some say that as many as one-third of the signers belong to the League of Communists. So the question suggests itself: Can a person sign a petition the content of which is directly opposed to the positions and policy of the League of Communists? We think is inadmissible.

The honorable thing to do would be for members of the League of Communists who sign petitions to state their attitudes in the basic organizations of the League of Communists to which they belong. Of course, the petitions are a matter of personal conviction and anyone may sign them if he wants to. Another matter is that everyone should judge for himself whether he belongs to a circle of petitioners and agrees with what the organizers of the petitions formulate as a problem.

Far From Real Life

As is known, petitions are not published in the press in Yugoslavia, but the organizers always try to have them published in foreign information media. In addition, they may often be read in fascist emigre newspapers. It is easy to explain the effort and desire to have the content of these petitions published in the West. The aim of these petitions is to prove that there is not enough democracy in Yugoslavia and that this group of people is the only one capable of thinking that it has the "courage" to tell the world the truth. However, even though petitions are not published in our country, here and there the petitioners manage to present their views in one way or another, speaking from platforms, speaking at youth group meetings, and so forth.

Our petitioners are not interested in the problems of suffering in the world or the common problems of our citizens. They do not want to spend energy on them, since they are not highflown topics. Hence the majority of petitions refer to currently fashionable topics such as freedom of thought, release of political prisoners, banning of books, and so forth. During the discussion of the concept of celebrating the Youth Days organized by the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia, the organizers of petitions felt that this was the time for an "important thought" of theirs to be heard. On 28 May 1983 they submitted a petition to the president of Yugoslavia asking abolition of the Youth Relay Race. The signers of this petition included, among others, Matija Beckovic, Dobrica Cosic, Antonije Isakovic, as well as Dragomir Olujevic and the Milan Nikolic referred to earlier, and professors Nikola Milosevic, Ljubomir Tadic, and other "subscribing petitioners." The foreign press wrote about their petition. Thus a reader in the West might get the impression that the petitioners are the only ones who care and think for all Yugoslavs.

When it is learned that the signers of petitions are mostly people who have clashed with the League of Communists, and that many of them have been imprisoned for their activities, it becomes clear that it is not the aim of people in Yugoslavia who organize petitions to warn of a particular problem, but above all to draw attention to themselves. Petitioners are entirely mistaken if they think that their true aim is not known and that our working man does not understand these petitions to be merely a means of manipulating public opinion. Behind all this there lurks, although very skillfully camouflaged, the desire of the petitioners to assert themselves as a political factor in our society. But our public cannot be easily manipulated.